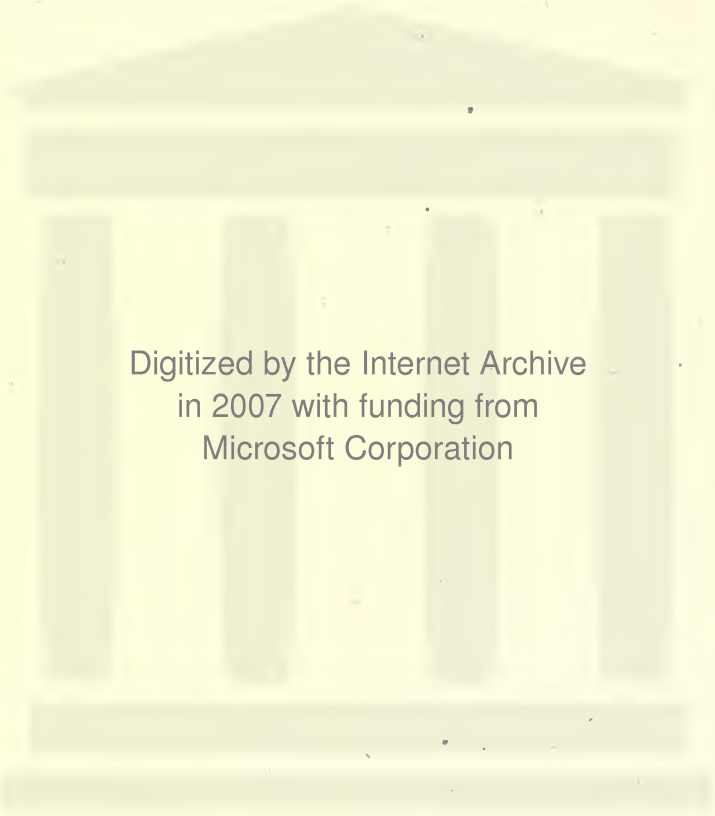
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Publication Number Sixteen

OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1911

Twelfth Annual Meeting, Chicago-Evanston,
May 17-18, 1911

Special Memorial Meeting, Springfield,
April 14, 1911

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ILLINOIS STATE JOURNAL CO., STATE PRINTERS
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EDITORIAL NOTE.

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meetings, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the Society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois historical collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care; for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circular letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the Society to contribute such historical material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the Journal. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the Society shall supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the State Historical Library. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the coöperation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such coöperation and mutual undertaking that this Society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

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Wm. A. Meese, Moline, *Chairman.*

Charles H. Rammelkamp ..... Jacksonville
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Richard V. Carpenter ..... Belvidere

PART I.

Record of Official Proceedings, 1911.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

EVANSTON-CHICAGO, May 17, 18, 1911.

The Illinois State Historical Society, in connection with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Evanston Historical Society, the Chicago Historical Society and the North Central History Teachers' Association, held its annual meeting in Evanston and Chicago, on May 17 and 18, 1911. The meetings of the joint associations were held from the 17th to the 20th, but Wednesday and Thursday, the 17th and 18th, were the days specially devoted to the Illinois State Historical Society.

The first session was held in the rooms of the Evanston Historical Society in the public library building in Evanston, at 2:00 o'clock on the afternoon of the 17th. The address of welcome was delivered by the mayor of Evanston, Hon. Joseph E. Paden. The program as printed was practically carried out.

The meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society on Thursday May 18, 1911, was held in the rooms of the Chicago Historical Society.

Address of welcome in behalf of the Chicago Historical Society to the Illinois State Historical Society was made by Mr. Thomas Dent, president of the Chicago Historical Society.

Mr. Dent's address was in part as follows:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—There is to be on this occasion a joining of hands to advance a common cause. The Illinois State Historical Society meets in the rooms of the Chicago Historical Society in pursuit of the object in which both are concerned, the gathering, preservation and dissemination of facts of the past, especially of our country and its people.

In behalf of the Chicago Historical Society a cordial welcome is due, and is extended.

May I mention that much credit should be accorded to the Librarian and Secretary of the Chicago Historical Society for the care and skill shown in giving us views of some of the treasures of the building as we pass through the corridor and rooms. The handiwork of those ladies is shown.

Extending a renewed and very cordial welcome, I take pleasure in presenting Col. Clark E. Carr, president of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Colonel Carr then took the chair.

The business meeting was held in the morning, at which the reports of officers and committees were heard, and the annual election of officers

was held. The officers of the Society were re-elected, except that Hon. Richard Yates was elected third vice president of the Society, and Hon. Andrew Russel, of Jacksonville, was made a member of the board of directors in place of Mr. Yates; and as a director of the Society in the place of Dr. M. H. Chamberlin, who has removed to California, and resigned, Mr. Walter Colyer, of Albion, was elected.

The annual address was delivered Wednesday evening by Colonel Carr, president of the Society. It was an able and impressive address, the title of which was "Illinois."

On Thursday evening at the close of the exercises a most delightful reception was given to all of the assembled associations by the Chicago Historical Society.

The associations are greatly indebted to the citizens of Evanston for many courtesies and delightful entertainment. Particular mention must be made of the mayor and his wife Hon. and Mrs. Jos. E. Paden, Prof. J. A. James, Mr. H. J. Patten, Mr. and Mrs. Charles G. Dawes, Mr. J. Seymour Currey, and Miss Mary B. Lindsay, and in Chicago of the untiring courtesy and many kindnesses of the officers of the Chicago Historical Society, President Thos. Dent, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Miss McIlvaine, Miss Jenkins and many others.

The joint meeting of associations interested in the same lines of historical work was a most interesting one and was well attended by representative workers from the states and societies associated. The attendance of persons other than the special workers mentioned was not as large as was desired but the weather was very warm, unusually so for May, and the fact that the meeting was held during the closing days of the General Assembly, before which many bills of interest to members of the Society were pending, furnished good reasons for the absence of many of the usual attendants upon the sessions of the Society.

SPECIAL MEMORIAL MEETING APRIL 14, 1911, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.

The Illinois State Historical Society held a very interesting and largely attended meeting on April 14, 1911, in the old Supreme Court room in the Capitol building at Springfield, in commemoration of the semi-centennial anniversary of the fall of Fort Sumter, the real opening of the Civil War.

Gen. Smith D. Atkins, of Freeport, told of the part taken by northern Illinois in the great struggle. His address was a most valuable contribution to Illinois history. General Atkins had been a participant in many of the historic events of which he spoke. His address was an admirable one.

The address of Mr. Eugene F. Baldwin, of Peoria, was entitled, "The Slave Empire," and it was of thrilling interest. Mr. Baldwin traced the causes of the war and gave the social and economic reasons which led to it.

The address of Col. Bluford Wilson, of Springfield, on the part taken by southern Illinois in the war, was full of valuable information and

statistics and was a revelation to most of the audience as to the great service to the State and the Union of that part of the State of Illinois known as "Egypt."

In the evening Judge Marcus Kavanagh, of Chicago, delivered an able address on the Civil War in America. This address was one of the most eloquent and scholarly addresses which the Historical Society has been privileged to hear. These addresses are published in this volume.

One of the interesting parts of the program was the singing of old war songs by the audience, led by a quartette of ladies from the Woman's Relief Corps, with Mrs. G. Clinton Smith as leader. Some of these ladies had sung these songs during the days of the war. A register book was kept and old soldiers were asked to register and nearly fifty of the veterans signed it. Their autographs will be kept as a part of the records of the meeting.

DIRECTORS' MEETINGS.

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met Tuesday, Jan. 24, 1911, at 10:00 a. m., in the office of the Secretary of the Society. There were present: Messrs. Carr, Greene, Schmidt, Meese, Burnham, Page, Carpenter and Mrs. Weber.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Letters were read from several directors, who were unable to be present.

The question of going to Evanston for the annual meeting was discussed. Professor Greene offered a motion that the meeting be held at Evanston. Mr. Meese was called on, and spoke in regard to it and favored Evanston. Captain Burnham said on account of legislative matters he thought that it would be better to be in Springfield, and possibly adjourn to Evanston. Professor Greene spoke in favor of one or the other place, not sessions in two places. Mr. Carpenter said he was in favor of having the business meeting in Springfield, and offered a resolution on the subject along this line. Dr. Schmidt spoke on the subject and was followed with remarks by Professor Greene, Captain Burnham and Professor Page. Mr. Meese spoke on the entertainment of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association by members of the Illinois State Historical Society, saying Mr. Dawes would like to entertain in the name of the Illinois State Society. Dr. Schmidt suggested having the business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society at the Chicago Historical Society rooms, and then going by automobile to Evanston. Captain Burnham here made a few remarks.

Dr. Schmidt spoke of a special meeting to be held in Springfield in April, in commemoration of the breaking out of the Civil War. An informal general discussion followed, during which several members of the board made brief remarks.

Professor Greene withdrew his original motion, and Professor Page withdrew his second. Mr. Meese offered the following resolution on the subject, which was carried:

Resolved, That this Society accepts the invitation of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society and the Evanston Historical Society to meet with them in Evanston and Chicago, May 17-20, 1911, and that such meeting be our regular annual meeting; and, be it further

Resolved, That this Society hold a special meeting at Springfield on April 14, on call of President.

This motion was carried.

Mr. Meese offered a motion that the President and Secretary of the Society be *ex officio* members in addition to a committee of five to arrange for the April meeting. Motion was carried.

The matter of the Program Committee was discussed.

Mr. Meese spoke of a new building and what is necessary to secure legislative sanction and appropriation. A general discussion followed. The Secretary was asked to see if the Governor would receive the directors, and she reported that the Governor was engaged but would telephone as soon as he could receive the board.

The Secretary reported the death of W. H. Collins of Quincy, a director of the Society. Professor Greene moved that the Secretary be appointed to prepare suitable memorial to Mr. Collins, and that it be reported as part of the minutes of this meeting at the annual meeting.

Professor Greene moved and Mr. Meese seconded the motion that the vacancy on the Board of Directors caused by the death of Mr. Collins be filled by appointment of Chas. H. Rammelkamp of Illinois College, Jacksonville. Motion carried.

Mention was made of the matter of the Lincoln Way suggested by the Governor in his message, and the board noted with pleasure the recommendation of the Governor.

There being no further business, the board adjourned.

Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society, May 18, 1911.

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in a committee room of the Chicago Historical building at 12:00 o'clock noon on Thursday, May 18, 1911.

There were present Messrs. Carr, Schmidt, Burnham, Carpenter, Cunningham, Page, Clinton and Mrs. Weber.

The newly elected officers took their places and Colonel Carr was re-elected Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Society. On motion of Capt. J. H. Burnham, Jessie Palmer Weber was re-elected Secretary and Treasurer of the Society with a salary at the same rate as the past year, $600.00 per annum.

It was suggested that a special committee on special meetings of the Board of Directors or of the Society be appointed. After some discussion, Captain Burnham moved and it was seconded by Judge Cunningham and carried, that the Secretary be given full power to act in the matter of special meetings. The Secretary said that she would accept this appointment with the understanding that it meant that when in her judgment a special meeting was desirable that she be empowered to call the attention of the Board of Directors to the matter in question and call such a meeting if in the opinion of the officers and directors such a meeting was advisable.

The present plan of the Quarterly Journal of the Society was considered. The Secretary said that this style is very expensive. After discussion it was ordered that this style be continued for the present.

The board moved that the Secretary make special efforts to induce members of the Society to pay their annual dues promptly, and in cases after due notice has been given of such intention the Secretary be authorized to discontinue sending publications to persons who have not paid their dues.

The Board of Directors then adjourned to accept the invitation of Prof. J. A. James and others to attend a luncheon at the Hotel Virginia.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY, 1910 TO MAY, 1911.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May, 1911.

To the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN—In my report made to you a year ago, I spoke of the steady gain in the membership and influence of the Society, and the experience of the past year has been of a continued onward and upward march. Our membership, however, ought to be much larger than it is. Few of our members have sought to gain new members for the Society. Some notable and honorable exceptions to this rule can be given, chief among whom may be mentioned, Mr. Wm. A. Meese, Mr. Wm. A. Sandham, Dr. W. H. Stennett, Mr. Wm. G. Edens, Dr. Daniel Berry, and others. Had we each one secured as many new members as these gentlemen our Society would number thousands instead of hundreds. We have now more than 1,200 members of all classes:

Honorary members	22
Life members	8
Newspaper members	47
Active members	1,163
Total	1,240

We have lost by death a number of our members, who are, as far as known to me, namely:

John W. Good, Moline, Ill., deceased April 22, 1910.
Wm. R. Head, Chicago, Ill., deceased May 10, 1910.
Henry Hall, Jacksonville, Ill., deceased May 29, 1910.
Rev. John Fairbanks, Jacksonville, Ill., deceased, 1910.
C. J. McManis, Princeton, Ill., deceased, 1910.
H. G. McPike, Alton, Ill., deceased, April 18, 1910.
J. M. Pearson, Godfrey, Ill., deceased, 1910.
Luke Dickerman, Stillman Valley, Ill., deceased July 4, 1910.
Legh K. Brainerd, Springfield, Ill., deceased Dec. 3, 1910.
Thomas J. Crowder, Springfield, Ill., deceased Feb. 22, 1911.
James S. Culver, Springfield, Ill., deceased March 17, 1911.
Hally Haight, Naperville, Ill., deceased May 3, 1911.
Mrs. Harriet Rumsey Taylor, Springfield, Ill., deceased May 15, 1911.

I again urge you to notify the Secretary of the Society of deaths in our membership. It is not possible for me to learn of them unless notice is sent me. We wish to publish brief notices in the Journal and to keep our records accurate. Please bear this in mind.

Legislative Work.

The present General Assembly just drawing to a close has enacted considerable legislation in relation to historical matters. Mr. Meese, chairman of our Legislative Committee, and to whose efficient labors is largely due the result, will tell you of the important step which this General Assembly has taken in the appointment of a commission to prepare plans looking toward the erection of a building for the Historical Society and Library and some kindred interests.

In 1912 Madison County will celebrate her centennial anniversary, it having been set off as a separate county by proclamation of Gov. Ninian Edwards in 1812. Madison County has asked an appropriation of $5,000.00 to erect a monument in Edwardsville, the county seat, to the memory of Governor Edwards, Governor Coles, and the pioneers who took part in the border warfare, when Fort Russell, near the present Edwardsville, was one of the principal frontier forts.

In 1812 Illinois territory became a territory of the second grade and in that year the first territorial legislature was held. Madison County will include in its celebration, the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of this beginning of representative government in Illinois. This bill has passed the Senate.

A bill has also passed the Senate appropriating money for the purchase of the site of Fort Chartres, one of the most important of the early French posts. A joint resolution has been passed authorizing the Board of Trustees of the Historical Library to decide upon the route traveled by the family of Mr. Lincoln in its migration from Kentucky to Illinois by the way of Indiana. The Governor in his message recommended that this be done, and that the route be suitably marked and called the "Lincoln Way."

The most ambitious of the historical plans has been the attempt to secure an appropriation for the purchase of Starved Rock and vicinity, about 1,100 acres. A bill carrying an appropriation of $225,000.00 has passed the House and has yet to be acted upon by the Senate. For this important work credit is due to Prof. J. A. James and his associates on the Illinois Park Commission.

The Quarterly Journal of the Society meets with favor from the Society and from all persons interested in the cause of State history. It is quoted very freely by the newspapers of the State and we have daily requests for copies of it and for permission to reprint articles from its columns. You are again urged to contribute to it items of historical interest or original material.

The Secretary appeared before the appropriation committees of the Legislature in the interest of a bill for an appropriation for a new building for the Library and Society. She took as her principal text the burning of the capitol at Albany and the destruction of priceless

records and the present defenseless condition of our own records, and the committees were impressed with the necessity of providing better quarters, with proper means of caring for our records and other historical treasures.

We are so crowded in our present quarters that it really seems that the limit of the storing capacity of our rooms has been reached. I would like each one of you to see for himself the congested condition of our rooms. We can no longer keep an even fairly tidy appearance. Tables and floor must be kept loaded. Our wall space for pictures is all used and our shelves for books and newspaper files are all overloaded.

The 1909 transactions of the Society have been printed and will reach you I hope within a short time. A new edition of fifteen thousand copies of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate volume has been printed and distributed. The demand for this volume has been surprising and it has not abated.

The history of Illinois newspapers, 1814-1879, edited by Mr. F. W. Scott and published as Illinois Historical Collections Vol. 6, has been distributed. It is an admirable and useful volume, and receives high commendation from the press and interested parties generally. Vol. 7 of the collections, the second of the executive series or Governors' Letter Books has also been issued, Mr. C. M. Thompson and Prof. E. B. Greene being the editors. Its introductory chapters present a most interesting history of the time covered by the State papers, and throw much light upon the internal improvement scheme which so nearly wrecked the State and upon the Mormon question.

Special Meetings.

The membership of the Society is so large that it seems that its annual meeting each year gives hardly enough opportunity for the members to meet, and it seems that the members in the different localities of the State can and ought to aid local societies or communities to observe local historical events. I suggest that a committee be appointed to consider a plan for such special meetings. The Secretary of the Society attended the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the organization of Woodford County. This was held under the auspices of the Woodford County Historical Society, Feb. 27, 1911. The meeting was a very successful one. Addresses were made by pioneers of the county and everyone present seemed to enjoy the exercises and appreciate the work that the Woodford County Society is doing. I hope we will have a report from the Woodford County Society by a delegate from the Society and that other societies may be represented at this meeting and give us some account of their activities.

The Colored Historical Society of Illinois, located at Springfield, has asked me to report for it that it has sixty active members who are much interested in preserving the history of their race in its struggles for growth and betterment. I believe this is the only colored historical society in the State.

We have received some gifts for which we desire to express our thanks. Members of the Society are urged to help in the collection of

local historical material. A circular letter was sent you some time ago asking such materials. We are very anxious to obtain old letters which describe early conditions in the localities of the State, the pioneers' manner of living, modes of transportation, cost of commodities, etc. If you know of any such local material we will be glad to be informed of it. We will gladly have copies made of historical documents if the originals cannot be obtained.

Miss Louise Enos, a member of the Society, has presented on behalf of her father's heirs a valuable Lincoln document. It is an original surveying paper. It was mentioned in the April Journal of the Society. The Hon. Norman G. Flagg has a collection of early Illinois letters written mostly by his father. He has allowed the Society to publish them and they will be edited by Mr. S. J. Buck and published in the transactions of the Society.

Such material is of the greatest value and interest. Please help the Society and Library in the collection of such material.

Governor Richard Yates has presented the Society with a manuscript record book containing the earliest military orders of his father, the great War Governor. There are not many entries but what there are are of the greatest interest.

We acknowledge gifts in the Journal, and so I will not take your time by enumerating them at this time.

On April 14, the Society held a meeting in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the breaking out of the war between the states. The meeting was one of the most interesting we have ever held and the attendance was as large as we have ever had. Addresses were made by Colonel Carr, Gen. Smith D. Atkins, Mr. Eugene F. Baldwin and Col. Bluford Wilson at the afternoon meeting, and in the evening Judge Marcus Kavanagh delivered an address. The old war time music was sung. The patriotic societies were invited and were well represented. It shows what can be done in the way of a special meeting to commemorate an historic event.

Our committees will, I hope, report on their activities. I urge greater activity among the members of the committees.

Very respectfully,

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
Secretary Illinois State Historical Society.

REPORT OF TREASURER.

May, 1910 to May, 1911.

Balance on hand from 1909	$229 22	
Dues received from members of the society	385 00	
Total receipts		$614 22
EXPENDITURES MAY, 1910 TO MAY, 1911.		
Expenses of Judge Marcus Kavanagh, at special meeting	$ 15 63	
Expenses Prof. W. K. Moorhead	73 50	
Miss. Bessie O'Brien, services at two meetings	50 00	
Maldener & Son, supplies	38 75	
Mrs. Jennie Howey, supplies	8 50	
Bell Miller, supplies	11 75	
L. E. Wheeler, postmaster, postage on four numbers of quarterly journal	106 56	
Phillips Bros., printing circular letters and programs two meetings	58 70	
R. L. Berry, supplies, two meetings	8 00	
H. L. Phelps, supplies	19 75	
Burke Vancil, use of stereopticon and services operating for Prof. Moorhead's lecture	10 00	
Total expenditures		401 14
Balance		$213 08

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY AND GENEALOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May, 1911.

To the Officers and Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Since our last annual report your Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications is pleased to say that we have made great gain in our collection, as at present we have in the library 700 volumes on genealogy—this includes books, pamphlets and typewritten copies of family histories, etc. We are regular subscribers to the following periodicals:

Lineage Books, D. A. R.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. I, 1847 to date. 65 Vols.

New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, Vol. I, 1870 to date. 41 Vols.

North Carolina Booklet, 1906 to date. Pub. by the N. C. D. A. R.

Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly, Vol. I, 1898 to date. 13 Vols.

Pennsylvania Genealogical Society, Vol. I, 1895 to 1910.

South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, Vol. I, 1900 to date.

Virginia Magazine of Biog. and History. Vol. I, 1893 to date, 1911. 19 Vols.

Williams and Mary Quarterly, Vol. I, 1892 to date. 17 Vols.

Among the more recent additions to our collection are the following, by states:

Connecticut—History of Waterbury, Conn., the original township, etc. Bronson, Henry (M. D.) 583 P. 8′, Waterbury, 1858. Bronson Bros., Pubs.

Delaware—The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Del., from 1697 to 1773. Translated from the original Swedish by Horace Burr. Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, IX. Wilmington, Del., 1890.

Delaware—Some Records of Sussex County, Delaware. Pub. Phila., 1909. Turner, C. H. B., Comp. Allen, Lane & Scott, Pubs.

Georgia—3 vols. Revolutionary Records of Georgia.

Georgia—3 vols. Confederate Records of Georgia. Candler, Allen D., Comp.

Kentucky—History of Union County, Ky. Courier Co., Pubs. Pub. Evansville, Ind., 1886.

Massachusetts—History of Easthampton. Its settlement and growth, etc. Together with a genealogical record of its original families. Northampton, 1866.

Massachusetts—Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution. 17 vols. Pub. by the Sec'y of State, Mass, 1896-1908.

New Hampshire—History of the First New Hampshire Regiment in the War of the Revolution. Pub. Albany, N. Y., 1868., Joel Munsell.

New York—Genealogical and Biographical Record, Vol. I, 1870 to date, 1911. Pub. by the N. Y. Genealogical and Biographical Society.

New York—Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of N. Y., 1668 to 1673. (2 vols.) Pub. by the State of N. Y., 1910. Paltsits, Victor Hugo, Editor.

New York—Muster Rolls of New York Provincial Troops, 1755-1764. N. Y. Historical Society, Pubs. 1902.

North Carolina—Sketches of North Carolina. Foote, Wm. Henry. Pub. N. Y., 1846. Robert Carter, Pub.

North Carolina—Sketches of Western North Carolina, Hunter, C. L. Pub. Raleigh, N. C., 1877.

Pennsylvania—Archives of Pennsylvania, Additions to. Penn. in the War of the Revolution, Associated Battalions and Militia, 1775-1783. 2 vols. Names of Persons who Took the Oath of Allegiance to the State of Pa. Between the years 1776 and 1794. Egle, Wm., M. D., ed.

Pennsylvania—Old Westmoreland. A history of Western Pennsylvania during the Revolution. Hassler, Edgar W., Cleveland, O., 1900. Arthur H. Clark Co., Pub.

Rhode Island—History of Warren, R. I., in the War of the Revolution, 1776-1783. Baker, Virginia. Pub. Warren, R. I., 1901, by the author.

South Carolina—The Annals and Parish Register of St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish in South Carolina from 1680 to 1884. Clute, (Rev.) Robert F. Pub. Charleston, S. C., 1884. Pub. by Walker, Evans and Cogswell.

South Carolina—Documentary History of the American Revolution; consisting of letters and papers relating to the contest for liberty chiefly in S. C. 3 vols. Gibbes, R. W., M. D., N. Y., 1855-1857. Appleton & Co.

South Carolina—South Carolina in the Revolutionary War. Simms, W. Gilmore. 12′ Charleston, 1853.

South Carolina—The History of the Revolution of S. C., from a British Province to an Independent State. 2 vols. Ramsay, David. Trenton, 1785.

South Carolina—The Siege of Charleston, by the British Fleet and Army, under the Command of Admiral Arbuthnot and Sir Henry Clinton, which terminated with the surrender of the place on the 12th of May, 1780. Albany, N. Y., 1867. J. Munsell, Pub.

Vermont—History of Newbury, Vermont, from the discovery of the Coös Country to present time. With genealogical records of many families. Wells, Frederic P. St. Johnsbury, Vt., 1902.

Virginia—Virginia Colonial Decisions. The reports by Sir John Randolph and Edward Barradall of decisions of the general Court of Virginia, 1728-1741. Edited with historical introduction by R. T. Barton. 2 vols. 8′ Boston, Mass., 1909.

Virginia—Virginia Cousins. A Study of the Ancestry and Posterity of John Goode, of Whitby. Goode, G. Brown. Richmond, Va., 1887.

Virginia—The Orderly Book of that portion of the American Army stationed at, or near Williamsburg, Va. Under the command of General Andrew Lewis from March 18, 1776 to Aug. 28, 1776. Printed from the original mss. Richmond, Va., 1860.

Virginia—Revolutionary Records. Names of the captains and privates of Col. Nathaniel Gist's Virginia Regiment in 1777. Also list of Virginia officers with the dates of their commission in 1776. In Records of the Revolutionary War. Saffell, W. T. R., N. Y., 1858.

Virginia—The History of Truro Parish in Va. Slaughter (Rev.), Philip, D.D. 12′ Phila., 1908.

Virginia—The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Va. Wayland, John Walter, B.A., Ph.D. Charlottesville, Va., 1907.

Virginia—Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia, or the origin and development of the social classes of the Old Dominion. 12′ Charlottesville, Va., 1910.

Virginia—Eastern Shores of Virginia in the 17th Century. Wise, Jennings Cropper. Richmond, Va., 1911.

Genealogies of a General Nature:

American and English Genealogies in the Library of Congress, Washington, 1910.

Cincinnati, Society of. Early documents relating to, 1783, 1811. Also document on the order in France, published by the Rhode Island Society, 1905.

Gifts of Family Histories to the Library:

History of the Foote Family. Gift of Mr. John Crocker Foote of Belvidere, Ill.

History of the Blackwelder-Scherer Families. Gift of Mr. I. S. Blackwelder of Chicago.

We respectfully solicit from the members of the Society and citizens of the State and other states who have genealogical material on Illinois, donations of the following description:

1. Printed books containing memoirs of individuals or families, funeral sermons, epitaphs, engravings, portraits, and other printed documents or work, which can, in any way elucidate the lives and actions of the early inhabitants of Illinois, or their descendants.

2. Manuscript documents, containing original copies or abstracts of wills, deeds, settlement and distribution of estates, letters and autographs, coats-of-arms, etc.

3. Original, or copies of Family Registers, or Bibles, containing records of births, marriages and deaths.

4. Original manuscripts containing the Genealogy, Biography or History of early Illinois settlers or their descendants.

5. Newspapers or parts of newspapers and other periodical works, containing marriages and deaths, or obituary and biographical notices of individuals.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,

Chairman Genealogical Committee Illinois State Historical Society.

COMMITTEE ON ARCHAEOLOGY.

To the Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Your committee appointed more than a year ago to report a plan of action upon the important subject of the archaeology of Illinois, beg leave to make a partial report, which if adopted, may be the basis for some more definite plans to be matured by competent persons under the direction of the State Society.

We recommend that a standing committee on archaeology be annually appointed by the directors of the State Historical Society.

We advise that this committee take appropriate steps in the name of the Society, following in the main the plan of the Ohio State Historical and Archaeological Society to have a State survey by counties, which should result finally in a complete archaeological State map.

We believe that if a proper effort is made by this Society, the State of Illinois can secure for perpetual preservation some of our most important Indian mounds, particularly the great Cahokia Mound, or at least set apart as a reservation some of the largest collections of these mounds such as may be found in Brown, Madison, Pike, Adams and other counties, as examples or illustrations of what has been mysteriously performed by former races of whom these mounds are the only memorials.

Lastly, we would most strongly recommend that in all future applications to the Legislature for appropriations for aid of this Society we ask specifically for annual appropriations for archaeological purposes, being firmly of the opinion that the State will respond liberally to such request.

J. H. Burnham,
W. T. Norton,
J. V. N. Standish,
Frederick Starr,
Dr. Wm. Jayne,
Clark E. Carr, *ex officio*,
Committee.

Chicago, Ill., May 18, 1911.

PART II.

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting 1911.

A PROGRAM PRESENTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ILLINOIS
WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1911.

FIRST SESSION.

2:30 p. m., Evanston Historical Society Rooms. Col. Clark E. Carr, President of the State Historical Society of Illinois, Presiding.

Address of Welcome—Joseph E. Paden, Mayor of Evanston.

Paper—"Thomas Sloo, Jr.—A Typical Politician of Early Illinois"—Isaac J. Cox, Professor in the University of Cincinnati.

Paper—"The Fordhams and La Serres of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois"—Walter Colyer, Albion, Ill.

Paper—"The Development of the State Constitutions"—Christopher B. Coleman, Professor in Butler College, Indianapolis.

Paper—"Lincoln and the Beginning of the Republican Party in Illinois"—Oliver P. Wharton, Los Angeles, Cal.

Paper—"Massachusetts, the Germans, and the Chicago Convention of 1860"—Frank I. Herriott, Professor in Drake University, Des Moines.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17—SECOND SESSION.

8:00 p. m., Assembly Room in Lunt Library, Northwestern University. Abram W. Harris, President of Northwestern University, Presiding.

Address—"Illinois"—Col. Clark E. Carr, President of the Society.

THURSDAY, MAY 18—THIRD SESSION.

10:00 a. m., Chicago Historical Society Building. Clark E. Carr, Presiding.

Paper—"Life and Labors of William H. Collins," one of the founders of the Illinois Historical Society—Rev. James Robert Smith, Quincy.

Annual Business Meeting of the Illinois Historical Society. Reports of Committees and Officers.

ANNUAL ADDRESS.

Illinois.

Clark E. Carr.

The position of Illinois in the aggregation of states is such as to have great influence in binding the Federal Union together. Extending as she does, from north latitude 36 degrees 59 minutes to 42 degrees 30 minutes, from Wisconsin, a state of the northern boundary, clear down to rivers which furnish navigation and means of commerce, to the southern limit of the Republic, she is potential in an extraordinary degree in binding all the states of the Union together. Illinois had not such an extent when first laid out. She was first called a county of Virginia, then created into a county of the vast region organized by the ordinance of 1787; and that county was afterward made into a territory. As a territory her southern and eastern and western boundaries were as now, but the northern boundary was an imaginary line running due west from the southern point of Lake Michigan. The northern boundary of Illinois would have so continued but for the far-reaching statesmanship and heroic efforts of Judge Nathanel Pope, who was the delegate in congress from the Territory of Illinois. Realizing how strong a hold the State from her position would have upon the south, he foresaw that if she could be placed in a position to have a similar grasp upon the north, she would be more potential than any other state in the Union in binding and holding the states together. So strong was this belief in the mind of Judge Pope that he urged it with great power in congress and he succeeded in extending the boundary of the State to its present limits, taking in to the north, beyond the limits hitherto settled upon, fourteen of the best counties of the State, and taking the same territory away from Wisconsin. The northern boundary reaches almost up to a parallel with the southern boundary of the state of Maine, while the southern point at Cairo is almost as far south as the southern line of the state of Kentucky. Cairo herself is much further south than the cities of Washington and Louisville while Centralia is about a parallel with Louisville and St. Louis. And the northern boundary of Missouri extends almost to a parallel with Bloomington, Peoria and Galesburg. Illinois in the Civil War, was mighty in holding the states of the Union together, in a great degree, because of her location, showing the wisdom of Judge Pope in establishing her boundaries. Major General John Pope, who gained distinction in the Civil War, was the son of Nathaniel Pope.

The ordinance of 1787, establishing a government of the Northwest Territory, dedicated this whole region to freedom. Under that ordinance, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan, came into the Union as free states, although in a few isolated neighborhoods slaves were held in bondage. Illinois was admitted into the Union as a free State in 1818. Three years later, in 1821, Missouri was admitted into the Union as a slave state. In those early days all the emigration to the west was from the south. There had then yet been to the west but little emigration from Europe and from the eastern states. The people of Illinois were practically all natives of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and the Carolinas. Upon the admission of Missouri into the Union there sprang up an extraordinary emigration to that new state from the south. In making their way to Missouri they crossed the prairies of Illinois. Among these emigrants were people of large means, having great trains of cattle and horses, and frequently slaves, which attracted the attention of the pioneers in Illinois. These Illinois pioneers, many of whom had left the south to get rid of slavery and who could not afford to own slaves, annoyed at seeing so many pass by them, urged these emigrants to stop and locate in Illinois, claiming that Illinois was really a better State than Missouri, and urging her advantage. But the reply was, "We cannot locate in Illinois because you have adopted an anti-slavery Constitution, and we cannot hold our property here." The result of this was to create in the minds and hearts of many Illinois people a desire to establish slavery and to so amend the Constitution as to permit it to be introduced. A powerful political party sprang up favoring slavery. But the free State Constitution could not be amended except first by calling a convention for that purpose and submitting the question to the people to be voted on by them. To call such a convention required a two-thirds majority in both Houses of the Legislature. Many of the people of the State of Illinois, too poor to own slaves, had migrated from the south to the State for the purpose of getting rid of slavery and they did not want it established under any circumstances, and opposed it with all their might. The leader of the opposition to slavery was Edward Coles, a very prominent and wealthy man, the second Governor of Illinois, who had from principle, because he became conscientiously opposed to slavery, manumitted all his slaves, entered into the anti-slavery movement with all his power. It was urged that the ordinance of 1787, having prohibited slavery in this region forever, slavery could not be established in Illinois; but on the other hand, it appeared that Illinois, having now become a sovereign State in the Union, had as much authority in controlling her domestic affairs as had Virginia or any other state, and if she chose to so amend her Constitution as to legalize holding human beings in bondage, she had the right to do so. Never was there so long and bitter and acrimonious a struggle as was that in Illinois upon the slavery question. It lasted for more than a year and a half. When one reflects that all those people were from the south, reared among slavery and accustomed to it all their lives, it seems almost incredible that they should not have favored it.

The political battle was waged with earnestness and constantly increasing zeal in every village and hamlet, and it may be said, in almost every family, for eighteen months.

To the everlasting honor and glory of the people of Illinois, the advocates of slavery were overwhelmed in defeat and the State rededicated to freedom. The vote stood 4,972 in favor of amending the Constitution, so as to establish slavery, and 6,640 against so amending the Constitution. There was a majority of 1,668 against slavery, which, considering how small was the population of the State at that time, was extraordinary.

I wish it were possible for me to name all the splendid men who were active in saving Illinois from the blight of human slavery. Among them I must name Henry Eddy, of Shawneetown, Morris Birkbeck, an English gentleman of large means who had settled in Illinois, and George Churchill and Nicholas Hanson, the latter of whom was unjustly turned out of his seat in the Legislature in order to give the pro-slavery men a two-thirds majority. I mentioned the name of George Churchill because I once had the pleasure of meeting him in Galesburg. He was a brother of the late Norman Churchill of Galesburg, and an uncle of George Churchill, the distinguished professor in Knox College. He was an abolitionist all his life, a printer by profession, frequently elected to the Legislature and accounted one of the best working members. He never made a speech of more than five minutes in length, but it, however, contained all that ought to be said. It was said that he was a perfect walking encyclopedia of political knowledge. He lived and died a bachelor. Above and beyond all these who ought to be remembered, is Edward Coles.

It will thus be seen that the pioneers of Illinois, regardless of their own interests, before an abolition party had been organized, when slavery existed all about them, when to be a slave-holder was almost a title of nobility, disregarding their own interests, permitted the wealth and grandeur of the south to pass by them in order that they and their posterity should enjoy the inestimable blessing of freedom. Does any one marvel that citizens of our State are proud of being Illinoisans? This is but one of the achievements of the people of Illinois of which we are proud.

In the short time alloted to me, it will be impossible to even allude to all the glorious episodes in the history of our great State, but there is one other that I cannot forbear mentioning.

As was the case in certain other states, there came upon the people of Illinois in 1836 an hysterical feeling in favor of internal improvements, which amounted really to a craze.

The Legislature elected in 1836 was supplemented by an internal improvement convention composed of many of the ablest men of the State, which was to meet at the Capitol simultaneously with the Legislature. It was probable that the more zealous advocates of internal improvements doubted the stamina of the members of the Legislature to carry the proposed enterprises into effect. So strong was the popular feeling that it was said that every citizen of Illinois expected to have a railroad or canal built near his house. The system contemplated the

building of 1,342 miles of railroad at a cost of over eleven millions of dollars. In three years the people woke up to a realization that they were already in debt nearly fourteen millions of dollars, and that the State was unable to pay the interest on its bonds. The State became so embarrassed that its credit was gone, and that it could not borrow another dollar of money, and that the public enterprises, the building of the railways and canals, which they so fondly hoped to see completed had scarcely been entered upon. Sparse as was the population, and limited as was the taxable property of the State, it seemed an impossibility to meet the enormous indebtedness and the people were driven almost to the extremity of repudiation. The credit of the State became a byword all over the commercial world. This period of depression and bankruptcy continued from 1839 until 1847, eight years, during which time the high taxes and hard times made capital and emigrants shun the State as they would the pestilence. Speaking of those days, one of the delegates to the constitutional convention of 1870 said, "It was a glorious time for two or three years, but after the money ran through and all was gone, and pay-day came, the people had to pass through an ordeal such as no community, perhaps on this continent, ever went through before. This period of depression embarrassed the people for twenty years. It paralyzed the industries, it drove emigrants from the State, and reduced communities to pauperism."

It is really not remarkable that the hard times and distressing conditions which existed in those dark days should have driven many to despair, that there should have been those among them who favored practical repudiation of the State debt by demanding of our creditors that they should accept in payment of their bonds less than they called for upon their face, that it should have been said that the people were bankrupted and that they could never pay any portion of the bonds unless a compromise could be effected. It was an awful crisis, but to the honor of the noble men and women of that period, it may be said that they heroically met the crisis and saved themselves and their great State from the dishonor of either repudiating or compromising their indebtedness. Men and women said that if it took every dollar they possessed and every piece of property they had, they would pay every cent of the debt or move out, that they would not live in a State that repudiated.

To the everlasting honor of the people of Illinois, they ordained and established in their fundamental law, which was absolutely binding upon them, a tax upon themselves to raise the means to meet their obligations. What was called a two-mill tax, was placed in the Constitution of the State to be inexorably collected every year to pay off the bonds.

At the time when this provision was made for the payment of the debt the population of the State was limited. Chicago was in its infancy, and the vast prairie regions of northern Illinois, now so densely populated, containing the most valuable farm property on the continent, was comparatively uninhabited. When it appeared that the State had adopted a policy to meet her obligations and that every dollar of her indebtedness would be paid, vast numbers of people from the eastern and middle states, and from Europe, turned their faces toward Illinois and

the immigration into the State was enormous. The result proved that the two-mill tax was sufficient to amply provide for the payment of the debt, and before we knew it, the bonds were all canceled.

It is natural in speaking of the achievements and glory of Illinois for us to place in the front rank her inestimable services to the country at large during the Civil War. No line of encomium or of eulogium for our commonwealth would be more natural or agreeable to the speaker than this. But it has been thought that it would not be out of place to bring to mind achievements of earlier days, for we realize that

"Not without thy wondrous story
Could be writ the nation's glory;
Illinois."

But we leave this to younger men in whose memories still linger the achievements of the heroes who took so prominent a part in the struggles that saved the country.

In recalling the heroes and statesmen of Illinois the time alloted to me only admits of the mentioning of four names: Lincoln, Douglas, Grant and Logan! What other commonwealth can number among her immortals such great names? Such as these can scarcely be found in the realms of fancy. In the epics of Homer, such a galaxy does not appear. If one ascends the heights of Olympus and contemplates the divinities in the sublimity and glory with which mythology endows them, he will search in vain for attributes so sublime and character so majestic. Had Illinois only given these four to the nation, she would have been distinguished as is no other commonwealth among the sisterhood of states. Yet were Lincoln and Douglas and Grant and Logan not numbered among those sent forth from the prairies, there would still appear in the firmament of American glory a constellation of Illinois statesmen and heroes that would illumine the world.

The temple of which the states of the American Union form the integral parts is the most sublime that was ever reared. Its foundations are laid in principles more substantial and enduring than granite; while the superstructure embodies and amplifies, in sublimity and beneficence, the wisdom and hopes and aspirations of all ages.

In the midst of this mighty structure, exalted to lofty eminence, supported and dependent upon all the other states, uniting and giving strength and grace and beauty to the whole, so conspicuous through the achievements of her sons that all the people instinctively turn their eyes toward her, rises Illinois, whose splendors and glories illumine every part of the mighty edifice which she majestically canopies.

New York is justly called the Empire state, and Pennsylvania the Keystone state. Illinois must be recognized as the stately Dome of the American Republic.

THOMAS SLOO, JR., A TYPICAL POLITICIAN OF EARLY ILLINOIS.

Isaac Joslin Cox, University of Cincinnati.

In a former volume of the publications of this Society Dr. John F. Snyder has given a brief sketch of the career of Thomas Sloo, Jr. under the caption, "Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois."[1] The only reason for adding to this sketch is the fact that it has been my personal pleasure to find in the Torrence Collection[2] of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio a considerable number of hitherto unused letters concerning Mr. Sloo and his early life in Ohio and Illinois. These have been edited and will appear in current numbers of the quarterly issued by that society. The present sketch is an attempt to present from these letters certain facts of the career of Sloo that bear upon the politics of early Illinois.

While it may seem strange that this material relating to Mr. Sloo should be found in an Ohio depository, that fact is but another illustration of the interlacing of the history of the whole Mississippi Valley. In the westward movement of our population we are familiar with the fact that the outlying communities of one generation act as the nurseries for more remote communities to be established at later periods. In this respect certain districts of the upper Ohio Valley, more particularly the Blue Grass Region, Marietta, and the Miami districts were centers from which the outskirts of the Northwest Territory and the lower Mississippi Valley were later peopled. Mr. Sloo who was born at Washington, Mason County, Kentucky, and who passed his youth and young manhood in Cincinnati and about a decade of his more mature years in Illinois, before going on to New Orleans where he spent the greater part of his life, is a typical illustration of this fact. His parents crossed the moun-

[1] *Publication No. 8 of the Illinois State Historical Library*, containing *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year* 1903, pp. 190-210. The sketch of Sloo is found on pp. 201-206.

[2] This collection comprises letters written by and to William Henry Harrison, James Findlay, Thomas Sloo, Jr., George Paull Torrence, and others of local celebrity in Cincinnati and vicinity, as well as a few from men of national reputation. Seven numbers scattered through Volume I.-VI. of the *Quarterly* issued by the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, contain selections from the letters of the Torrence Collection. In addition to the letters the collection comprises the account books of the firm of Smith and Findlay, pioneer merchants of Cincinnati, military records of the early Indian campaigns, Findlay's accounts as receiver of public monies at Cincinnati, Hamilton County records acquired by Torrence, and miscellaneous printed and written documents, broadsides, public acts, etc., etc., such as would usually be collected in the course of the long business and political experience of record preserving pioneers. The bulk of the letters in the collection is addressed to Findlay. Those addressed to Torrence follow in numbers, while there are a fairly large group addressed to Thomas Sloo, Jr., and a few written by him. The presence of the letters addressed to Sloo may be accounted for by the fact that Torrence was his brother-in-law, to whom Sloo seems to have sent many of his papers, when he moved to New Orleans, about 1830.

THOMAS SLOO, JR.

tains when the upper Ohio Valley was still a wilderness and began a pioneer existence in Kentucky just as that commonwealth became a state in the American Union. Mr. Sloo himself belonged to the first generation of native Trans-Allegheny pioneers and came to Illinois shortly after statehood was bestowed upon it. He figured in the stirring politics of the period when party lines were cast upon a personal basis, achieved an honorable position among the leaders of the new State, narrowly missed attaining the office of its chief executive, and left his impress upon its economic conditions. He then passed on to a distant but still connected scene of action where his career was cast in more retired personal and business lines with, however, an honorable opportunity for leaving his impress upon the community at large.

Mr. Sloo seems to have taken up his residence in Illinois during the spring of 1820, when he was in his thirtieth year. Although a comparatively young man his previous career had been an honorable one in his adopted home in Cincinnati. One of the first references to him in the Torrence papers bears the date of Dec. 4, 1811, and this letter is addressed to him as an inmate of General James Findlay's household.[1] Although barely of age he seems to have been the confidential secretary of Findlay who was not only one of the leading merchants of Cincinnati but also Receiver of Public Monies for the Land Office and a high officer in the state militia. The relationship that young Sloo bore to him is indicated by the fact that Findlay refers to him as his "friend and sheet anchor."[2] Findlay left his affairs in Sloo's hands while he was absent on public business connected with the preparation for the War of 1812, and in fact the General and his wife seemed to have adopted him into their childless but "friendly family" as they were later by marriage to admit him into closer relationship.

Despite the trust reposed in young Sloo he evidently chafed at a condition of affairs which kept him in Cincinnati while military measures were under way in northern Ohio, as a letter to his benefactress states.[3] "What sensations must be produced in every bosom, that possesses the spark of patriotism or thirst for glory in the field of Mars. But fate as usual smiles on me but with contempt. She appears to decree in dire opposition to fire of youth and feelings of independency—All's Well." In the second year of the war Sloo was sent to the east on important business for the Miami Exporting Company in connection with transportation of provisions and specie for the western army.[4] While absent at the seat of government he was offered a commission in the regiment of Light Artillery.[5] A more important result of this trip seems to be indicated in an enthusiastic description of his visit at Mercersburg, Pa. The sequel to this visit is his marriage, July 14, 1814, to Miss Harriet Irwin, a native of that town and a niece of Mrs. Findlay.[6] At the conclusion of the war with Great Britain certain of the leading merchants

[1] P. T. Schenck to Thomas Sloo, Jr., Dec. 4, 1811. *Torrence Papers*, Box 20, No. 29.
[2] James Findlay to Mrs. Jane Findlay, *Torrence Papers*, Box 6, No. 48. Other letters of this same date show Sloo's confidential relations with Findlay.
[3] *Ibid*, Box 21, No. 36.
[4] A few meagre details of this mission are given in letters of Martin Baum (*Torrence Papers*, Box 2, Nos. 8, 9, 10), of John Armstrong (*Ibid*, Box 1, No. 14a), of James Taylor (*Ibid*, Box 26, No. 18), and of Sloo, himself (*Ibid*, Box 21, No. 37, Box 1, No. 14b.).
[5] Sloo evidently did not accept this commission in regular army.
[6] Cf. Snyder, *loc. cit.* p. 202.

of Cincinnati united to form a company to introduce English goods directly into that city by the way of New Orleans. Mr. Sloo, now of the firm of Baum and Sloo, and who had recently lost his bride after less than a year's marriage, was selected to act as the purchasing agent of this company in England and spent the next two years in this important commission. His own course seems to have been marked by great discretion, although the company did not realize their full expectations from the project because of unfortunate trading and banking conditions prevailing throughout the country.[1]

Returning to Cincinnati Sloo became a merchant in that city and also received certain other honors. 1818 he became one of the directors of the Cincinnati branch of the Second United States Bank, a position which brought him into close friendship with the cashier of that institution, Gorham A. Worth, from whose letters we gain many of the facts of Sloo's history for the next ten years.[2] The year 1819, however, was marked by great financial disaster for nearly every leading citizen of Cincinnati. By 1820 the branch of the Second United States Bank, familiarly known in the west as the "Monster," had foreclosed mortgages upon about half of the property in the business district of Cincinnati. This result was brought about by the intensive speculative spirit of the people of that city which permitted loose methods in conducting the affairs of the bank, as well as by the drastic measures assumed by that institution.[3] The correspondence of Worth with Sloo at this period throws many an interesting sidelight upon the general financial conditions of Cincinnati and of the middle west. For those directly involved, including Sloo, the situation was one of despair.[4]

In the latter part of 1819 Sloo was appointed as agent of the Quartermaster General's Department for Cincinnati, Newport, and vicinity.[5] Somewhat earlier in this year he married his second wife, Miss Rebecca Smith Findlay, a niece this time of General James Findlay.[6] Thus he was doubly connected by marriage with those who had been his early benefactors.

The failure of his commercial ventures in Cincinnati caused losses which he honorably liquidated in time, although he was long hampered by them.[7] His obligations determined Sloo to seek a new career elsewhere. For some years his father had been connected with the United

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[1] See letters which Sloo bore introducing him to General Jonathan Dayton (*Torrence Papers*, Box 14, No. 58) and General Aaron Ogden (*Ibid*, Box22, No. 3), and also instructions written to him while abroad (*Ibid*, Box 11, Nos. 73, 74). One interesting item is a request from General Pike's widow (*Ibid*, Box 18, No. 71, printed in the *Quarterly* of the Historical and Philosophical Society, Vol. IV, p. 135) requesting him to collect the royalty due from the English edition of her husband's book.

[2] These letters are contained in the Torrence Papers, Box 29, Nos. 49-66, and cover the years 1818-1824 inclusive. They are published, along with others relating to Sloo in Volume VI. of the *Quarterly* of the Historical and Philosophical Society. In acknowledging a letter of Sloo Worth writes "It was a fine long letter in your usual easy and pleasant style."

[3] Cf. *Ibid*, and Catterall, Ralph, C. H., *The Second Bank of the United States*, *passim*.

[4] Worth's letter of Aug. 2, 1820, just a few weeks before the Branch of the United States Bank at Cincinnati was closed, is of special interest. *Torrence Papers*, Box 29, No. 58.

[5] *Ibid*, Box 13, No. 18. This was probably the result of Sloo's friendship with Thomas Jesup, then Quartermaster-General of the United States Army.

[6] Cf. Snyder, *loc cit*, p. 202. She was the daughter of John Findlay of Chambersburg, who was at one time Congressman from his district, and later postmaster of his town under Jackson. Cf. *Torrence Papers*, *passim* and the volumes of the *Quarterly* of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

[7] This is shown by references in the *Torrence Papers* as late as 1828.

States Land Offices at Kaskaskia and Shawneetown, Ill.[1] He, himself, as well as his friends, Worth and Torrence, had speculated heavily in western lands in Illinois and in Missouri.[2] With his father and brothers living in Illinois and with land claims located near Shawneetown and along the lower Ohio, where H. L. Webb and Dr. William Alexander were attempting to develop a metropolis, it was only natural that Sloo should seek to recuperate his fortune in the young but thriving State. The process of financial recuperation, however, seems to have been a very slow one and Worth's letters show that he, at least, had little confidence in the ultimate success of Webb and Alexander's projects, or in the character of the men themselves.[3]

With the handicap of business failure in Cincinnati Sloo also brought to the new State the prestige of friendship and intimate relation with such important men as Findlay, George P. Torrence, his brother-in-law, Jacob Burnet, and General William Henry Harrison. Through some of these men and his own family connections, he was likewise a protegé of W. H. Crawford, then Secretary of the Treasury and an aspirant for the Presidency. Sloo was thus naturally thrown in with another leading Crawfordite, Edward Coles, although he seems to have had intimate friends in the party that usually opposed the latter. His friendship for Crawford won for him later the enmity of Ninian Edwards, Daniel P. Cook, and others who were recognized as active Calhoun men. Despite this his prospects for political prominence seemed brighter than his financial ones.

Mr. Sloo seems to have tarried for a time at Shawneetown, where his father was already located, and then in 1821 passed further westward to locate in the new county of Hamilton, of which he was the first surveyor. In this capacity he laid out the town of McLeansboro, its county seat, which became his residence. In the combined capacity of merchant and farmer he speedily became a well known figure in that portion of the State and deservedly popular.[4] It was characteristic for the new comer to plunge into politics and Sloo had hardly settled in his new environs before he received an appeal to take sides in the gubernatorial contest then raging. Joseph Phillips wrote to him on Dec. 21, 1821, asking him how his section stood with regard to supporting him personally. Phillips had every confidence in the ultimate success of the canvass which he was then making for Governor upon a pro-slavery ticket. In his reply some months later, Sloo frankly tells Phillips that he believes that Judge Thomas Browne will get the vote of his county and the result shows that he was correct. Judge Browne received 139

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[1] Thomas Sloo, Sr., acted as commissioner in 1813 to determine land claims in the Kaskaskia District Cf. *Private Statutes at Large of the U. S.*, 1789-1845, p. 120. Later he served as Register of the Land Office at Shawneetown, Cf. *Official Register* of the *United States for* 1822, p. 49. He was still living in 1827, Cf. *Torrence Papers*, Box 4, No. 56. This information is interesting, for the previous impression, even of his descendants, was that Thomas Sloo, Jr. was left an orphan at an early age. Worth mentions in a letter of Aug. 2, 1820 "my sober and sincere and rational friend, your mother" (*Ibid*, Box 29, No. 58) and Sloo's young son, in a schoolboy letter of Mar. 5, 1825 (Box 21, No. 49), refers to both his grandparents, then in Illinois. In addition Worth refers (*Ibid*, Box 29, No. 61) to Sloo's brother Howell, who was associated with Henry L. Webb in land speculations and in selling wood to steamboats in southern Illinois; to John, of whon no other mention occurs; to James [C], who is mentioned by Snyder (*loc cit* 206), and Albert Gallatin], who figures so prominently in the Tehuantipec project of the 40's and 50's.

[2] Cf. the letters of Worth as given in *Torrence Papers* and also *Ibid*, Box 11, No. 62 and Box 25, No. 37.

[3] Cf. *Ibid*, Nos. 62-65.

[4] Snyder, *loc cit.* p. 203.

votes in Hamilton County in 1822, while Edward Coles received only 25 and Joseph Phillips 67. It was this division of pro-slavery votes between Browne and Phillips which gave the election to Coles by a plurality of 50 votes.[1]

In this same year, 1822, Sloo himself was elected to the Illinois Senate as a Representative of Hamilton and Jefferson counties. Shortly afterward he received this interesting letter from his friend Worth,[2] now located in New York City:

"It gives me much pleasure to learn that you have become an important spoke in the legislative wheel of your State. Your stump speech must have been a good one. I always thought you possessed more natural eloquence than many public speakers, yours is not of the loud, the empty or declamatory species. But of that gentle persuasive and unsophisticated character, which is calculated to be felt, and consequently to be followed. If soundness of head, integrity of principle, kindness of heart and gentleness of temper, are considered of any value, or held in any estimation in Illinois you will become a favorite of the people. I pray God you may be enabled to settle in a satisfactory manner all your old business, and stand from all pecuniary evils, redemmed, regenerated and disenthralled."

Sloo's legislative experience during the following winter may be judged from a letter he writes to his brother-in-law Torrence.[3] In it he says:

"We have had a very tedious and unpleasant session, there has been nothing but a continued scene of intrigue and electioneering. On the 9th inst. we had our election for Senator and Chief Justice. Our friend Jesse B. (Thomas) was re-elected on the first ballot, notwithstanding every exertion was made to defeat him. His triumph is the greater, as he had, a great portion of the big folks against him; but no matter we beat them, and I hope we shall always beat them."

The extract indicates that Sloo was strongly attached to the party of Jesse B. Thomas and that the "big folks," that is Senator Edwards and his party, were openly arraigned against him. Calhoun, then Secretary of War and still a candidate for the Presidency, had greatly opposed the re-election of Thomas[4] but in this he was not to realize his wish. This result contributed to the famous "A. B. Plot" of the following year which lost for Edwards the Mexican mission and his own re-election to the Senate.

More important in view of future developments is his reference to the proposed Illinois-Michigan Canal.[5]

"The most important bill that we now have before the Legislature is a bill making an appropriation for internal improvements, and which contemplates the location of a canal, from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River. It has passed the House of Representatives, and has been twice read in the Senate. It is now in the hands of a select committee, and I think its fate somewhat doubtful."

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[1] *Torrence Papers*, Box 18, No. 68. Cf. also Davidson and Stuvé, History of Illinois, pp. 300-309.
[2] *Torrence Papers*, Box 29, No. 59.
[3] *Ibid*, Box 21, No. 43.
[4] Edwards, Ninian W., *History of Illinois*, pp. 490, 493 and *Edwards Papers*, pp. 203, 204.
[5] See Note 3 *supra*.

This bill, however, ultimately passed and gave Sloo a more important position in State politics. A board of five commissioners was appointed to consider the ways and means of constructing this canal under permission granted by the Federal Government. Sloo was one of these commissioners and at its first meeting was elected president and was the moving spirit in their later report advising the construction of the canal.[1]

In this same letter Sloo states, in January, 1823, that the convention question which involved the issue of slavery in Illinois was very doubtful and that there would not be more than one or two votes either way. As is well known the one vote necessary in the House was later obtained by unseating a member opposed to calling the convention. Sloo's own position in regard to this question seems to be doubtful. Dr. Snyder states[2] that he voted for the resolution submitting the convention to the people. Letters from his friends,[3] however, seem to indicate that he was opposed to the introduction of slavery into Illinois, and his son assures me that he never owned slaves himself, even when he resided in Louisiana; so if he voted for submitting the convention question to the people he must have done so for some reason of political expediency and not because he favored a system even of modified slavery for the new State of Illinois.

In the course of the following summer Governor Coles offers Sloo the position of Aid-de-Camp to himself as Commander-in-Chief of the State militia. After explaining the duties of this office he adds:[4] "Whether you accept this situation or not, you will do me the justice, I trust, to believe that I derive a sincere pleasure in giving you this small testimony of that great respect and sincere regard which I have long cherished for you."

In his reply declining the position because of his many engagements Sloo was equally frank and his expression throws some light upon his political principles:

"Believe me, sir, it is with no small degree of regret, that I have to decline your polite and friendly offer, but I am one of those old-fashioned fellows, who think it improper, for a man to accept of an appointment, without a reasonable probability of having it in his power, to perform the duties of the station."

He goes on to explain that his work as canal commissioner and his legislative duties at Vandalia would consume so much of his time that he could not be absent from home the additional period necessary to review the militia. He closes with cordial expressions of friendship for Governor Coles and with an invitation to visit him at his home in Hamilton County.

During this same period his friend Worth kept him busy with suggestions for looking after his lands in Illinois, paying taxes upon the

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[1] *Torrence Papers*, Box 36, No. 14 and also Davidson and Stuvé, p. 343.

[2] *Loc cit*, 203. In a letter to the writer Dr. Snyder states that Ex-Governor John Reynolds is his authority for this statement.

[3] Under date of Aug. 3, 1823, Israel T. Canby writes from Madison, Indiana to Sloo, "You express your hostility to the introduction of slavery" [into Illinois] and goes on to elaborate a scheme of modified slavery for the state. *Torrence Papers*, Box 4, No. 13. Cf. also Worth's letter, *Ibid*, Box 29, No. 65.

[4] *Torrence Papers*, Box 21, No. 44.

same, and in other ways effecting the financial redemption of both. In the midst of the worst account of these financial worries Worth goes on to say:[1]

"But notwithstanding all this, I am in fact and in feeling unchanged. My memory is good, honest, and tenacious of its stores. Every benefit conferred, every act of kindness, of friendship, or of partiality is registered in a firm and durable character, and I stand ready to endorse the list. Among the many recorded I always find yours and Mrs. Sloo's standing in bold relief; around these names, the lines, obligatory of favor, of kindness and of hospitality, appear to thicken at each review. I make the confession once for all, and believe me 'tis an honest one."

He then urges Sloo to support Clay for the Presidency and closes with this prophecy:

"How comes on your Canal? and how do you stand politically. I expect to see you Governor of Illinois yet. If you were perfectly free from all your old business concerns, you would naturally rise in any walk you might choose, either in Church or State."

The early months of 1824 must certainly have been a stirring time for Mr. Sloo. His correspondence shows that he was busied with the affairs of the Canal Commission, that he was troubled by his friend Worth with many details in regard to the latter's land holdings in Illinois and his debt to the Branch Bank, that he took some part, although it does not just appear what, in the exceedingly exciting convention campaign of this same year, and that he was considerably exercised over the apparent failure of Dr. Alexander's land speculations in southern Illinois. In regard to the Presidency under the date of April 14, 1824, his friend Worth writes,[2] "You must be a Crawfordite, if I should judge from the office you lately held. Pray, will Illinois support that radical chief?" Worth states in regard to the situation in his own state, that Crawford who seems to "calculate" on New York "reckons without his host." He then adds:

"Some of our political leaders would indeed elevate to the Presidency the Devil himself, provided he would make them his prime ministers. Remember, all the intrigues in the union, and all the radicals and political Stock Jobbers are for Crawford. I am for Clay, Adams, or Jackson in preference. I would vote for Crawford only on one condition, and that is, that he should pay my debt to the Branch."

The reference to the federal office which Sloo held is to the position as special inspector for the Treasury Department of the land offices in Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas.[3] Mr. Sloo was indeed a Crawfordite and he seems to have remained true to his chief despite the representations of his friend. Possibly it was this support of Crawford upon which he relied to give him the next political position to which he aspired. We have this aspiration chronicled in Worth's letter of June 19, 1824. He says:[4]

"I have before me your aspiring letter of 12 May. It seems your ambition is not likely to be satisfied with trifles. Member of the Legis-

[1] *Ibid.* Box 29, No. 61.
[2] *Ibid.* Box 29, No. 63.
[3] *Ibid.* Box 9, No. 48.
[4] *Ibid.* Box 29, No. 64.

lature, Canal Commissioner, Justice of the Peace, and Agent of the Treasury, etc., etc., are mere nothings, we must be Senator of the United States! One of the grand counterpoises to Executive Influence—the sanctioning or controlling power of Official patronage! Very well—go on."

Mr. Worth does not seem to have a very high opinion of some of Sloo's associates, who were his own as well, in certain Illinois speculations, for he continues:

"Mr. Webb too (who the Devil won't rise next!) is on the road to greatness. Well, I hope it will increase his ability to pay his notes at the Branch."

"Political honors, must I think, be cheap in Illinois, when the Lawgivers, and the representatives of the Majority of the people, are composed of such materials as Webb, etc., etc."

"The Doctor it seems [i. e. Dr. Wm. Alexander] has nearly run his race. I am sorry for him but remember, every dog has his day."

Worth's opinion of Webb was not likely to have any effect upon Sloo if we may judge from a letter he received from Mr. Webb himself. The missive reads:[1] "Received your letter of the 4th of this month [September] a few days ago before I left home, and according to your request mentioned to the representatives of Union [County] your being a candidate for the Senate of the United States. I found that they had been apprised of it previously by some of your friends." Mr. Webb's letter also shows that in addition to their common legislative experience that he and Sloo and the latter's brother, Howell, were interested in land and timber speculations in the lower part of Illinois and that Webb advised lenient terms for some of their debtors. Accordingly Worth was not more likely to influence Sloo against a possible senatorial supporter and business associate like Webb, than he was able to influence him against Crawford, his choice for the Presidency. Webb may likewise have been a Crawfordite and Sloo must have depended upon the Crawford influence to assist him in his senatorial aspirations. By this time he may have deemed himself the most prominent Crawfordite in the State, aside from Coles, who then held the Governor's chair. Worth continues:

"On the subject of your own ambitious views, I doubt not of success. As a Senator you would certainly appear to great advantage, you have a natural dignity of deportment, and a most senatorial gravity of aspect, in short, you were made for a Senator, for one of the sages of the present age, for a conscript Father! Then, you have all the necessary requisites of wit, and worth, and words, action and utterance. You have (I am not in jest) the eloquence of truth and of nature—of form, of sentiment and of feeling—not the noisy eloquence of a demogogue—not the oratorical flourish of a declaimer. But the more winning and impressive power of mildness of judgment and gentlemanly deportment. * * *

[1] *Ibid.* Box 28, No. 26.

"You will be a favorite at Washington with the honest portion of all parties. * * * This is my deliberate opinion."

In the month of August Mr. Sloo receives a letter from Emanuel J. West, one of his associates on the Canal Commission, who urges immediate preparations for a trip to the north, and adds.[1]

"You have no doubt heard of my defeat and the defeat of the main question; we are beaten easy. I hope you will not fail to be here. We have extensive political arrangements to make."

The reference above is of course to the call for a convention. This was defeated by a popular, decisive majority which marked the redemption of Illinois from any possible relapse into slavery. Upon this result Worth thus expresses himself to Sloo:[2]

"The rejection of a call for a Convention, is however, indicative of some good sense, or of great good fortune; for the present period is not propitious to the tinkering of Constitutions. The introduction of Slavery into your State, though it might operate favorably to the immediate interests of a few, would be the certain index to its future degredation, or the positive bar to its future moral, physical, and political importance in the Union."

This summer was also marked by an important episode which occurred in attempting to fill the American mission to Mexico—the so-called "A. B. Plot." A controversy had arisen between Edwards and Crawford over the affairs of an Illinois bank in which public funds had been deposited. Edwards made certain charges against Crawford which he was unable to substantiate. When the details of this transaction became known it led to his forced resignation of the appointment as minister to Mexico, and elicited the following comment from Worth:[3]

"As for Governor Edwards, he is politically damn'd in the estimation of nineteen-twentieths of the people of the United States. His charges, however true, were from their nature incapable of that clear and absolute demonstration as to fact, and that irresistable inference as to motive, which could alone sanction their introduction against so high an officer of the Government, and on such a fallacious pretence. The result was such as any sensible man would have anticipated. They advanced the interests, if not the reputation of his adversary, and covered himself with obloquy and disgrace. As the conduct of the representative honours or dishonours his Constituents, the State I should suppose would 'feel the stain like a wound' and punish its author with merited contempt. If therefore you have no more formidable rival for the Senate than Edwards, I predict your success. In truth I know of no weight of character, of talent or merit, which should induce you to withdraw, or to despair of your election."

In December Edwards did appear as a candidate for re-election to the Senate, but he had lost his hold upon the electorate of Illinois and the prize passed to another. It was John McLean, however, who filled

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[1] *Ibid.* Box 28, No. 29.
[2] *Ibid.* Box 29, No. 65.
[3] *Ibid.* Box 29, No. 65. Benton in his *Thirty Years View*, I., pp. 34-36 is unfavorable to Edwards. An opposite view is expressed in Edwards, History of Illinois, pp. 135-154 and the *Edwards Papers*, pp. 223-231, and by Ford, *History of Illinois*, pp. 62-64.

out Edward's unexpired term and who wished to succeed also to the six year period following. In this, he too, was doomed to disappointment, for in the week following his election to the temporary place, the Illinois Legislature selected Elias Kent Kane for full-term Senator. McLean and Sloo as well as other aspirants, among whom we may mention John Reynolds, failed to achieve their ambition, but Mr. Sloo received the complimentary number of four votes when Kane was elected.[1] At about this time his friend sent the following from New York:[2]

"How comes on your Senatorial race? I pray God you may succeed. I think you will. You were made for a *Senator*—cut out originally for one of the *Conscript Fathers* of this deliberative realm. * * *

As soon as I hear of your success, I shall drop my familiarity and commence my future epistles with 'Most potent, grave, and reverend Seignor."

That there are compensations even when one wholly misses his senatorial aspiration, seems to be shown in an interesting letter which John McLean writes to Sloo from Washington, Jan. 16, 1825.[3] He expresses his mortification at being left out for the long term and believes that he has been betrayed by those who pretend to be his friends—men who wish to use him by stating that he was reserved to seal the triumph of the party by beating Cook for Congress. As McLean says, "This kind of soft corn may do to feed children but it is too lite diet for men." McLean does not propose to desert the party but he intends to expel some men from camp. He seems to feel especially bad over his defeat because he fears that this check would cloud his future prospects. He may have felt his reverse more keenly because of the fact that Niles Register[4] stated that he had been elected for a full term as well as the unexpired one. His letter is important not only from the personal point of view but because it shows the existence of an embryo party organization to which he and Sloo belonged. McLean makes mention of this in a succeeding letter of Jan. 22, 1825,[5] in which he expresses himself as pleased that his name had not been used for a vacancy in the State Supreme Court:

"I have no faith in the men who call themselves the party. I mean collectively. Old Nic or the Devil could not be more hypocritical or false or selfish than some of them."

In 1825 the Illinois Canal project was beginning to attract notice outside the State and Sloo received a number of inquiries with regard to the project of connecting Lake Michigan with the Mississippi, and in regard to steamboat navigation on the Illinois River. One of these inquiries is penned by James Geddes of New York who two years before had been considered for the post of engineer of the Canal Commission.[6] One of the later correspondents in mentioning his canal project and personal finances, expresses the belief that in a few years Sloo and his

[1] Snyder *loc. cit.* p. 203.
[2] *Torrence Papers*, Box 29, No. 66.
[3] *Ibid.* Box 17, No. 3. See also Appendix A.
[4] Vol. XXVII, p. 256.
[5] *Torrence Papers*, Box 17, No. 4. See Appendix B.
[6] *Ibid.* Box 9, No. 33.

friends will be coming from the west in steam carriages on railways "at the rate of ten to fourteen miles per hour."[1]

By this time Sloo's prominence in the State seemed to assure him of greater future consideration at the hands of its voters. Casual references in his correspondence show that from his arrival in Illinois he had opposed the faction under the leadership of Edwards. That political chief was anxious to recover his political prestige which had suffered so greatly in his controversy with Crawford. In connection with this a quotation from a letter which Edwards writes to John McLean of Ohio, then Postmaster-General, is of considerable interest. Edwards states that he does not expect to enter politics again but if he does, no power of politicians at home or in the Union can keep him from the Governorship. He would enter upon his contest, however, only to help Calhoun whom he loves and whose friends, he hopes, will do nothing to endanger his chances.[2] This determination on the part of Edwards is of considerable interest to us for by this time the opposition faction had determined to run Mr. Sloo as its candidate for Governor. We are left in doubt as to the various motives which influenced this choice. We may surmise, however, that the men who supported Sloo represented a combination of former Crawfordites like Coles and some pro-slavery men. Jesse B. Thomas, whom Sloo had earlier claimed as his friend and whom he had assisted in his second election to the United States Senate, did not support him. He, however, secured a considerable element representing those who later formed the Jacksonian party in Illinois and most of [the] latter group who did not vote for him seemed afterwards to regret the fact.[3]

Of course Sloo suffered from inexperience in conducting a campaign against such a veteran as Edwards. He had resided less than six years in the territory but in respect to brief residence he does not suffer in comparison with many of his contemporaries or with such later politicians as Douglas. He was a man of extremely simple life and tastes, but was not on the plane of Lincoln. He had important family connections in Ohio and influential friends throughout the whole northwest. His old friend, William Henry Harrison, was just being elected to the United States Senate from Ohio and his former employer and benefactor, Findlay, had just been sent to Congress from the first Ohio district. As the representative of this group in Illinois, with the Crawford interest back of him and with business connections in all parts of the State, and associated with so important an economic interest as the canal, he might reasonably aspire to the highest office within the gift of the people of Illinois. His opponent, Edwards, was greatly handicapped by his controversy with Crawford; while Sloo's handicap seems to have been the record of his financial failure in Cincinnati, which was the chief point of attack urged by his opponent. The result of the election in which Edwards won by a small majority, is really a tribute to Sloo and by no means an entire victory for Edwards, who was hampered in his plans by a hostile Legislature.

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[1] *Ibid.* Box 3, No. 13.
[2] *McLean Papers*, MSS., Library of Congress.
[3] *Torrence Papers*, Box 19, No. 22. See also the following quotation from McRobert's letter.

Edwards came into office on what in modern days we should call an anti-graft campaign, although his friend John McLean, the Postmaster General, thus expresses himself:[1]

"For your success in the late election (although your competitor was an old and I believe a sincere friend of mine) I feel a deep interest. It has often been referred to by me as triumphant refutation of the scandles which had been so extensively circulated against you."

Edwards now proceeded to bring all sorts of charges of financial irregularity against his opponents. The net result of the various investigations which the Governor set on foot was absolutely nothing. In view of the confusion arising through Edward's course, the following quotation from a letter of Samuel McRoberts to Sloo is of considerable interest.[2]

"The Session since I have been here, has been a boisterous one. Many circumstances with which you are no doubt acquainted, tended to produce a spirit of discord.

We have been expecting to see you here. And I am well assured had it fell to your lot to have presided over the State, and many here who opposed your election now regret the course they pursued and that you had not been elected, the ill feelings and angry passions produced here this winter, would never have been heard of. It is a misfortune to Illinois that you were not elected. It is in truth a deep misfortune, both as it respects the internal harmony and prosperity of the State and her character abroad.

I was in Kentucky in the fall. Many gentlemen there expressed the warmest feelings for you, and hoped the Legislature would recognize you as Governor. It was understood there that there was likely to be a contest before the General Assembly upon the subject."

McRoberts was not the only one to voice the feeling of regret at the election of Edwards. Ex-Governor Coles wrote from Washington advising Sloo to be careful of the political course that he and the former Crawfordites took at this time.[3] James Hall, one of the victims of Edward's judge-breaking law, expressed himself more forcefully.[4] In a second long letter describing political conditions in the State which affords an interesting comparison with those published in the *Edwards Papers,* Hall describes the various combinations which resulted in placing Illinois in the Jackson column. He was not much of a political prophet if we may judge from the fact that he advised Sloo that Jackson's day was over in Illinois, because of the canal appropriation which Cook had secured from Congress.

More interesting than these expressions of regret was the proposal made by Elijah C. Berry that Sloo might technically claim that he still exercised the office of Quartermaster General of the State militia and refuse to honor Edward's requisitions for certain arms belonging to the State.[5] As the request from Edwards followed certain Indian difficulties which then afflicted the northern part of the State, this attempt to gain partisan advantage by hampering the Governor does not

[1] Edwards, *History of Illinois,* p. 147.
[2] See Note 3, p. 36.
[3] *Torrence Papers,* Box 4, No. 56.
[4] *Torrence Papers,* Box 11, Nos. 4, 5. See Appendix C and D.
[5] *Torrence Papers,* Box 2, No. 26.

suggest patriotism of a high order. We are pleased to note that Sloo definitely and promptly rejected it. He writes:

"Situated as I am in relation to the present commander in chief [i. e. Governor Edwards] had I barely doubts as to the termination of my appointment delicacy would forbid my imposing any obstacle to interrupt the harmonious administration of his government. Believing as I do, that there is at present, no Quartermaster General of the State the arms would of course be under the entire control and disposition of the Governor."

With this quotation we may fittingly end the career of Mr. Sloo in Illinois. Within a few months he had closed his affairs in that State and transferred his family to New Orleans where he began once more his career as a merchant and where a large measure of success and honor came to him during his succeeding life of nearly half a century. We must not regard his leaving Illinois as in any sense a desertion of the field of combat in the hour of political defeat. His correspondence shows that his prospects for future success in the political arena were good and the success obtained by his friends indicates that he might have anticipated a like measure of political honors. But the financial burdens resting upon him since his failure in Cincinnati were not wholly liquidated and his public duties undoubtedly prevented him from giving the attention to the development of his private affairs that was necessary to accomplish this purpose.[1] His field of operation in southern Illinois was too limited for him and with his business and political associates, his previous reputation for probity and good fellowship, he might reasonably aspire to a larger measure of success in New Orleans, the commercial emporium of the West. His course does not suffer in comparison with other political leaders in Illinois. Joseph Phillips had gone to Tennessee after his defeat for the Governorship in 1822. Jesse B. Thomas retired to Ohio when he completed his term of service in the United States Senate, and even Ninian Edwards planned at one time to take up his residence in Texas.

I have called Mr. Sloo a typical politician of Illinois. He came to the State, as did many others, representing certain political influences that were making themselves felt in the nation at large. He was young and ambitious. He immediately entered public life and aspired to the highest situations to be attained therein. He gained a measure of success, followed the personal bent of politics of his period, and eventually moved on to another and far different scene of action. In all of these respects he is typical of the various groups of politicians that played their part in the first decade of Illinois State history. And he has left an impression which, thought slight, is worthy of careful commemoration. It is in the multitude of such impressions that we read the early history of the State and its part in that political movement which we distinguish by the term "Jacksonian Democracy."[2]

University of Cincinnati, June 15, 1911.

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[1] Cf. *Torrence Papers*, Box 3, No. 13; Box 5, No. 46; Box 12, No. 5; Box 27, No. 14.

[2] In the preparation of this paper the writer is under special obligations to Miss L. Belle Hamlin, Librarian of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio; to Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society; and to Mr. Thomas Sloo, of New Orleans, and Dr. J. F. Snyder, of Virginia, Illinois.

APPENDIX.

These letters are from the Torrence Collection of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, and are published in the *Quarterly Publication* of that organization for July-September, 1911. The numbers indicate the boxes of the collection in which the originals are to be found:

A.

JOHN MCLEAN TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.
(Box 17, No. 3.)

WASHINGTON, 16 January, 1825.

DEAR SIR—I have delayed writing a long time that I might have something to say which would be interesting or amusing. But I have waited in vain and it seems at present that if I [wait now till,] I shall have such intelligence to communicate, that the time will not arrive for beginning this winter.

The question of the President is beginning to be looked about a little, but it is a matter of entire doubt who is to succeed. Mr. Crawford's friends still maintain that his prospect is equal. In this I have no hesitation in saying that they are wrong. At present, however, things are so unsettled that his chance may be the best before the question is tried. But be certain that every thing on the subject is so doubtful that no man seems to have anything like a settled opinion as to the likely result.

I have been and an immensely mortified at my treatment in Illinois not because I have been beaten for the Senate; but because I am induced to believe that I have been treated with insincerity by men of whom I believed better; because I believe my friends have been imposed upon and led away from me by delusions fabricated for the express purpose; because I have been attempted to be played upon by the *chimera* that I was reserved for the purpose of sealing and capping the triumphs of the party by beating Mr. Cook for congress being the only man who could do it; because it has been given out that I was no candidate when the fact was otherwise; this kind of soft corn may do to feed children, but it is too lite diet for men. It is said too I am advised by my quandum friends that I am at the head of the triumphant party in Illinois that I am a man of great talents and cleverness; now this is a delightful dessert; but it will never do for dinner; I have long ago learned that if the only reward of talents and cleverness is to be called such that a man might as well be called rascal and fool.

By this time you begin to think that I have deserted my colours and that I am about to go over to the enemy. Expel your apprehensions I have taken my stand and will never leave it. But I must be pardoned if I should set about expelling some men from the camp. We have amongst us some cunning men, some men that are too wise they must be put out; and for the future I am determined to have no political connection with any man who has any secrets and who does not take a decided and open stand upon all important questions and that I will support no sly cunning man for any

office. If those who had acted with me and with whom I had acted chose to elect any man of our friends to any office in preference to me; and had heard said he has more claims, he is better qualified, he is more deserving, etc, etc., I should never have thought hard and if either of those reasons or any other good one had been assigned I declare most solemnly I would have been better pleased with Mr. Kane's election than with my own and if after it was arranged and determined that I should not be elected; could my name have been kept out of the contest I would have been rejoiced; it was my request I ought to have been gratified or had the election been put off till the last of the session so as not to have operated upon me here I should have contended myself; I requested that much; but even in that I could not be gratified. It seemed as if anything and everything which would cloud my future prospects was assiduously studied out and promptly executed; perhaps it was without design. I hope so but appearances are strange. If I had known that the same legislature that elected me for one session, would have beaten me for six years in a week I would now have been in Illinois for I was aware of the little benefit any man would have to be here for one session only and it known he was beaten for the next.

B.

JOHN MCLEAN TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.
(Box 17, No. 13.)

WASHINGTON, 22nd Jany. 1825.

DEAR SIR—Yours under date 31st ult is to hand and altho I was not fully satisfied with the result, I agree with you that it is pretty well. I am sorry that Browne is elected and that Robinson is beaten. I am exceedingly pleased that my name was not used as I could not have accepted the place.

You mention that many have their eye upon me for a certain object; you do name what it is. Because I do now and never did doubt you; because I can in perfect confidence say to you whatever I may think, I take this occasion of answering to that remark that I never intend to trouble my friends in Illinois for any thing because I am satisfied that I can never get it without descending to a course of conduct which I ever have and I trust ever will be above.

I have no faith in the men who call themselves (the party) I mean collectively. Old Nic or the *Devil* could not be more hypocritical or false, or selfish than some of them. When I see you I will be more at large, for present believe me ever your friend.

C.

JAMES HALL TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.
(Box 11, No. 4.)

VANDALIA January 15th, 1827.

DEAR SIR—The bill for an act abolishing the Circuit courts has at last passed the council, and is now a law, if that can be called a law, which is in direct violation of the constitution. I sent you a copy of our Memorial, in which the constitutional question is presented at length. I wrote it in a great hurry after the Bill had got into the Senate, but I think it will do before the People. If I can get an opportunity I will send a number of them to your County, if not, I will carry them there, on my way home. In the meanwhile, all is uncertainty here, as to the final arrangement of the Courts. Edwards still goes for two circuits, and with him go all his minions. Such a plan would carry if it were not for the uncertainty who would be the judges. Indeed we are not without some hopes, that they will even repeal

the judge-breaking law and put everything back to what the diplomatists call the *status ante bellum*, as they were before the war. Those who advocate the repeal of the Circuit System are alarmed at their own success, and the people who arrive here daily bring reports from all parts of the Country of the unpopularity of this measure. This feeling among the people should be encouraged. They are now, in many places, astonished and incensed, at the high handed measures of their representatives, and should not be suffered to cool. An expression of such feeling may perhaps induce the Legislature to retract. I wish therefore to have all the petitions which were got up in Hamilton sent on to Mr. Casey, and I would be glad that our friends would write to us. I intend, as soon as the Legislature adjourns, if things remain in their present shape, to make a public appeal to the people of my circuit, or else to join other judges in making an appeal to the people of the State. Governor Edwards has said, that one of the Supreme Judges, Smith, gave his opinion in the Council that the repeal of the system, was unconstitutional and that the Legislature ought to *attend to that matter*, in other words, that Smith should be addressed out, for not confirming his conscience to the will of the Legislature. Will the people submit to such degradation of the judicial office? Wattles has entirely given up Edwards. Indeed many of his friends are becoming very tired of him. The Adams men are much incensed at his joining Jackson. I have written to Colonel O'Fallen on that subject.

A few days ago Edwards, in a message to the lower House, complained that he had not seen nor heard any thing of a memorial which had been adopted to be sent to Congress. This was considered as a censure upon the Committee on enrollments, and Dr. Alexander, one of that committee introduced a resolution, declaring in substance that the Governor had no business to know any thing about such a memorial until it was sent to him, and that his message was an encroachment upon the privileges of the House; it was referred to a select committee, who will report tomorrow against the Governor. All is confusion. The Legislature will not in all probability rise for six weeks yet—they have as yet done nothing of general interest except to pass a few laws submitted to them by the Supreme Judges, and to break the Circuit Judges. I am quite undetermined what course to pursue as respects myself. I cannot practice before Brown, his notorious partiality, and his hostility to me, would always prevent my success as a lawyer, and I should be engaged in continual war with him; on the other hand I cannot afford to be idle, or to await the decision of the next Legislature, who I think would reinstate us. But whether to go to the North, or the West, or quit the State, and its cursed politics, I am uncertain. It is a hard thing to be so poor, that we must bend to circumstances.

Please to present my best respects to Mrs. S.
Thomas Sloo, Jr.

Your friend,

McLeansborough,
Hamilton County, Illinois.

JAMES HALL.

D.

JAMES HALL TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.
(Box 11, No. 5.)

VANDALIA June 3d, 1827.

DEAR SIR—Will you do me a small favour? Our friend Mr. I. T. B. Stapp is an applicant for the office of Postmaster here, which is vacant by the resignation of Judge Warnock. His appointment would be gratifying to all your friends at this place, and there is no doubt of his capacity and integrity. We have all written to the Postmaster General, and to our members. Will you do us a favour to drop a line to Mr. McLean, if it is only to say that the testimony of Colonel Berry, Mr. Forquer, and myself, and Colonel Ewing, may be relied on, as we are strangers to him.

I have just returned from Edwardsville, St. Louis, Belleville, etc. I saw Smith, West, Kinney, Thomas, Edwards and other great men, and am satisfied that old things are to be done away among us, and all things to become new. Our parties, as they have heretofore existed are already dissolved, and new distinctions are rapidly taking place. Smith, Kinney, and West, are about to set up a Newspaper at Edwardsville—ostensibly for Jackson, but in fact to operate in State politics. Smith and Kinney want to be Senator and Governor. They go against Edwards, Thomas, but most especially and bitterly against McLean. *Party No. 2* consists of John Reynolds and Tom Reynolds the Beairs, etc., Jno Reynolds wants to be Senator—is inveterate against Smith, Edwards, Thomas and dont much like McLean. *Party No. 3* consists of Jesse B. Thomas *Solus*—the privates and officers yet to be enlisted. The Honorable Jesse is very bitter against Smith and Co., but more against McLean. He swears that McLean is a dishonest man and a dishonest politician—that he cant, and by G——— he *shant* be elected!

I do not see how the above named men can ever again amalgamate, at any rate they will not join with *Party No. 4* which consists of Jno McLean and his friends—Nor with *Party No. 5* which is composed of Edwards & Co.

Edwards declares publicly on all occasions that he will not be a candidate for the Senate, and I am inclined to think he will not be. Thomas also declares he will not be, but it is easily seen that his object is to bring out a great many candidates, and he thinks the report of his retiring will have that effect.

When I saw him at St. Louis he expressed a great deal of contrition at having opposed your election for Governor, and requested me to say to you that if any appointment from the General Government should offer which would suit you, you might rely on his most active exertions etc. He urged this matter very much, and begged me to endeavor to convince you how much he was your friend, and all that. He said a great many more things to me equally sincere and true, some of which I will repeat when I see you.

Depend upon it, my dear Sir, these combinations which are going on in our State will ruin every man who is engaged in them. The people are beginning to complain loudly. Kinney is sinking faster than I ever saw any man, his violence disgusts even his friends. Thomas and Edwards are gone. Smith is univerally feared, his ambition and his intriguing spirit alarm friends and foes. Lockwood and Wilson are greatly depreciated. All of these men must go down. McLean stands best, but his prospects are very doubtful, his habitual neglect of the interests of those who have supported him most warmly, is attributed to want of gratitude, or to a selfish policy, and a great many predict that his friends will forsake him in the hour of peril. Should they do so he would have no right to complain for he has never supported any of us. I shall however support him. I have not yet learned what will be the course of our friends at Kaskaskia They are considered with the Smith gang, but I cannot believe it. How do you feel on the Presidential question? I hope you do not think of joining the Jackson combination. If you ever expect to be a candidate again before the people of this State, avoid that rock. Jackson's day is over in Illinois—the canal appropriation has settled that question. Can you not also whisper to me whether you will again offer for Governor? If you do, keep clear of the combinations. The people are with you. The Kinney squad is against you.

We are trying to make up a little party to the mineral well at Mt. Vernon or Mrs. Gaston's. Ewing and wife, and myself and wife will I think go down after the Federal court, and spend ten days.

Edwards is there now, and talks of taking his own family and Cooks. The latter has returned home very low.

If we go to Jefferson you must meet us. I can tell you a great deal of news.

THE FORDHAMS AND LA SERRES OF THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN EDWARDS COUNTY.

Walter Colyer, Albion, Ill.

If asked my excuse for adding another chapter to the history of the English settlement in Edwards County, it would be sufficient to reply, the world-wide importance of the subject and its increasing interest. In a measure to show this, listen to the following paragraph from the correspondence of that eminent writer and thinker, M. D. Conway, addressed to the Cincinnati Commercial-Tribune and dated at London, March 29, 1883:

"The account of their horseback journeyings into what was then the Far West, of the primitive dismalness of Cincinnati, of the floods and unbridged rivers (in one of which Birkbeck ultimately lost his life), of the retreating Indians, of the backwoodsmen retreating after them, of Albion town pre-arranged by two men sitting on a log, drawn on paper, germinating in a log inn and blacksmith shop, followed by the store, the meeting house, the court house, the gaol and the newspaper—all of these repeat the story of Jamestown, of Plymouth, of Concord and other colonies, each of which repeated the story of the first Aryan colonists in Europe and casts more real light on them than the antiquarians who are trying so hard to decipher their prehistoric vestiges."

To George Flower and Morris Birkbeck, leading actors in this historic drama of the southern prairies of the early Illinois, possibly too much prominence has been generally accorded. If the truth were known a score or more of others deserve to share with them the honors; and conspicuous among the number would appear the name of Elias Pym Fordham. It is of the Fordhams and the related family of La Serre I propose to deal, principally, in this paper. In his History of the English Settlement thus wrote George Flower:

"Clustering around the Black hills of that district, in the villages of Sandon, Kelshall and Therfield, the families of Fordham have long resided. In the wars of the Protectorate they were as numerous as they are now. With a company of some 70 or 80 men, all blood relatives and of one name, they joined Cromwell's army. Ordered to ford a river, there stationed to check the advance of the Royal troops, they were all killed but one man, and he left on the field badly wounded. From this one man the 73 uncles and cousins—all Fordhams, that made me a farewell visit at my house at Marden, before I sailed, for America, all sprang."

The Flowers and Fordhams had much in common—ancestry, environment, education, politics and religion. For centuries they had resided in and around Hertfordshire on their ancestral holdings. The two families were linked by the marriage of Richard Flower and the daughter of Edward Fordham; and by this marriage Richard Flower, whose ashes now repose in a neglected tomb beneath a walnut tree in a horse lot on the old Park House premises half a mile south of Albion, became related as brother-in-law to Elias Fordham. These two men alike liberty-loving and widely at variance with the king and the existing order of the English government, were also both dissenters from the Established Church. Both espoused the creed of Unitarianism. While Birkbeck was squandering his competence attempting to boil soap for all the kingdom, Richard Flower and Elias Fordham were amassing fortunes as successful brewers of good ale.

Accompanying the Birkbeck party from England in the spring of 1817, and constituting a part of the nucleus of the pioneer settlement, was Elias Pym Fordham, 29 years old, eldest son of Elias Fordham and first cousin to George Flower. He was a young man of high attainment as a civil engineer and possessed of splendid character. His training had been under the tutorage of George Stephenson, the most famous inventor and civil engineer of his generation. Subsequently, in the spring of 1818, among another party of emigrants came also Miss Maria Fordham, one of Elias Pym's five sisters. Maria accompanied her cousin George Flower and his new wife and the two little Flower boys. At Shawneetown the party was met by Elias Pym who, leaving Birkbeck estranged at his English prairie home, piloted the little party of new comers to the rude log cabin built by young Fordham himself for the reception of the Flower family and Miss Fordham. A little later Charles, the only brother of Elias Pym, also located at the English Settlement. In 1834 another Charles Fordham journeyed hither and remained for a time. This Charles was the son of Edward King Fordham who contributed books toward the founding of the first public library in the new village of Albion.

It is not too much to say that Elias Pym Fordham was the mainstay of the English Settlement, and upon him devolved the arduous duties of general utility man. It was he who took charge of the Birkbeck party's heavy luggage out of Norfolk to Baltimore and thence overland to Pittsburg, and after that by boat to Cincinnati, a total distance of more than a thousand miles. Although in bad health, at times he steered his own boat and at others landed and shouldered his gun in search of game for provision. Birkbeck's piano constituted a part of the baggage. Think of hauling that piano over the mountains a distance of 240 miles! The total weight of this baggage amounted to 9,000 pounds. When his Ohio River flatboat arrived at Cincinnati Fordham again joined the Birkbeck party who had preceded him in order to escape the burden of the baggage. It was he who hired, bought or built boats and after the arrival in Illinois procured provisions, tools, implements and wearing apparel, constructed saw-pits and built the first log cabins. He spied out the most desirable lands for entry and the choicest locations for

dwellings. He explored the country for building material, and in the absence of a surveyor's chain, nothing daunted, he cut a grape-vine and proceeded to survey the county round about; and be it said to his credit, his lines and established grape-vine corners have continued established until this day. In his surveying expeditions he chased bears, wolves and panthers, swam rivers, lodged with the hunters in their wilderness cabins, shared their scanty provender and joined with them in their mid-night festivities. When it was necessary to treat with the Indians or to negotiate with the frontiermen Fordham did it. He knew the Indians and they regarded him as their fast friend. The steady aim of his rifle was relied upon to defend the handfull of English against the possible intrusion of the drunken frontier ruffians who not infrequently threatened the prairie settlers. Of his prowess as a sportsman he said of himself: "I can bring down deer, birds and squirrels at every shot with my rifle." When there was an aching void for news in the colony Fordham traveled 40 miles to the post-office to get the mail and each trip twice forded the Big Wabash River. Soon he became patriotic and manifested this by assisting to raise the first American flag in the public square at Princeton, Indiana. He went about garbed much like an Indian, wearing a blanket and carrying a tomahawk in his belt. Perhaps the most notable achievement was the erection of a prairie wind-mill for grinding grain, the first to be erected north of the Ohio in the Illinois. He also successfully built a planing mill. In the latter part of October, 1818, he began his survey of the town of New Albion in which, latterly, for sometime before his return to England Elias Pym Fordham conducted a general merchandise store. He made entry of lands in several localities but it does not appear that he engaged to any extent in farming.

Fordham's Personal Narrative, written in the most inconvenient places in the years 1817 and 1818, and published by the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland, 89 years after it was written, is a straightforward narration of his travels and experiences, full of incident and rich in description of the new Illinois country and its undeveloped resources. Without pretense of literary attainment Fordham told in clear, concise and unbiased language a story as readable and far more truthful and conservative of the beginning of the English settlement between the two Wabashes than that of any other chronicler of his period with the possible exception of John Woods. As a sample of Fordham's direct and matter of fact style I quote this paragraph from his Narrative:

"Every log cabin is swarming with half-naked children. Boys of 18 build huts, marry and raise hogs and children at about the same expense."

And again:

"I change my shirt, when it is convenient, twice a week, and sometimes take off my clothes when I go to bed. My hands, though rougher by far, are not quite so dark as an Indian's; and moreover I am grown very stout."

It was his opinion that sketches in general of the Illinois country had been too sunny. While deploring the existence of slavery Fordham was much less radical in his opposition to it than was either Flower or Birkbeck. On page 210 of his Narrative we find him saying:

"I would not have upon my conscience the moral guilt of extending slavery over countries now free from it for the whole of the Northwestern Territory. But, if it should take place I do not see why I should not make use of it. If I do not have servants, I cannot farm; and there are no free laborers here, except a few so worthless, and yet so haughty, that an English gentleman can do nothing with them."

After his return to England E. P. Fordham devoted his time during a number of years to technical engineering and won for himself a lasting reputation. He was employed by the Duke of Wellington, then governor of Dover Castle and lord warden of the Cinque Ports, to build the great government docks for war-ships at Hastings, Sandwich, Dover, Romney and Hythe. It was while at Dover, then 54 years of age, on the 2d. day of December, 1842, that Elias Pym Fordham addressed a letter of considerable interest to his brother Charles, then in the employ of the Manhattan Gas Company at 178 Mercer Street, New York. This letter, I believe, has never appeared in print. It follows:

MY DEAR BROTHER:

When I look at the date of your letter (which is now before me) I feel sorry that I have not answered it. I may say that when I received it I was very ill in body and very much depressed in spirits. I have not until very lately been in good health or spirits since the death of my father. Indeed, I was so ill for some months that many people thought I was going by slow though certain steps toward the grave. I began to think so myself and had made up my mind to go to a Southern climate. As I found I could take a cabin passage to Terseria for seven pounds, ten shillings and six pence I thought of wintering in that island and of proceeding to New York in the spring. But as I recovered my health I thought I could better spare the money for the improvement of my little property near Dover than on a voyage which was no longer necessary for my health.

It gives much comfort to reflect that I made some atonement for the pain which I had often given our excellent father; that I wrote a very kind letter to him a little time before he died. He was not taken ill at the time I wrote, although he received it on his death bed. Sophy read my letter to him and he said that it was very kind; so I believe he died forgiving me and all his children their faults toward him. If a feeling remained in his mind which was not love and affection toward any of his children, it was not toward you or any other except Catherine, who showed to the last her want of feeling. But enough of this; we have all our faults and it is our best business to set about correcting them.

You wrote in praise of your wife, and I am glad that you do so. She must be your best friend, and probably may be your only one, except your child. You will not forget that it is your best and most important interest so to command your temper, spirit and conduct and to curb his with mildness and firmness, so as to train him up in the way he should go and to inspire him with love and respect for you. That he will love and respect his mother there is little doubt, if she but be half so good as you describe her.

As to naming your boy after me, which proposal I take to be a compliment, I suppose what I have to say will come too late to be of any

use. Yet I consider a singular name, as mine is, so great a disadvantage as one passes through life (especially in England) that I would give something considerable rather than name a boy, if I had one, after myself. My employment has chiefly led me into the service of high Tories and high churchmen; my name proclaims me to be a Whig and a dissenter. My name Pym is considered by them a regicide, a murderer of the worst class; and they have the same dislike to the Parliament of Charles 1st time as we have to the Inquisition. Elias smells of Puritanism. Together the names want euphony; they are not easily sounded, like Richard, Henry, Thomas and other names of two syllables, with the accent laid on the first. Richard Fordham trips off easily. Your own name is far better than mine. Arthur, Alfred are good old Saxon names. William is good and I think there is not a Fordham so named at present.

You write that you have been trying to get into the society of Odd Fellows. This news I have concealed from all your friends in England. You know that what may be tolerated in one country is often utterly disapproved of in another. In Dover there is a society of the name besides Druids, but no respectable person joins them. In Royston the idea of such a thing would be scouted. To take it in its best light it is a benefit club, and I should fancy a very expensive one, and one which will be likely to lead you into the very temptation which you ought to strictly and steadfastly avoid.

I have little news to tell you. My affairs have not prospered these last five years; and although I have not lost a great deal, I have gained nothing. In the main I should have gained but for the scounderlism of one person by whom I lost 150 pounds or thereabouts; and the failure to get a railroad bill into Parliament occasioned me the loss of another 120 pounds. Other bad debts, losses and expenses make the total above 300 pounds or thereabouts. Against it which I may place my earnings at about 400 pounds. Often my profits have not amounted to more than 20 pounds per annum, about enough to keep me in clothes. But for my father's legacy I must have sold my property in cottages and little bit of land.

Last spring twelvemonth I went with Mr. Pierce's grandson and Mr. J. Burdock's second son into Germany. I went through Belgium into Cologne, thence as far as Collina up the Rhine. I like the Flemish people very much better than I do the French. I like the German's living pretty well, though Belgium is the country of good eating, but it is dearer than Prussia. Upon the whole I like the Germans better than any other people—better than the Americans; much better than the French. Last spring I went with my wife to Bath for her health. The journey did her great good. She sends her respects to you.

You perceive that at present I am utterly unable to assist you with money. I have lost all my land in America except a small piece in Evansville, and the possession of that is contested. When you went to the West you might have given me information concerning my land, and then I could have supplied you with money to pay the taxes and would have given you half to take care of the other half. If I recover my land I will think of you. You cannot do anything for me now.

I am glad that you live out of town. Why cannot you do still better by going to one of the new towns which are still springing up in Ohio state or back of New York state? The Quakers have a great deal of land in the back of Pennsylvania. But I am afraid to recommend anything myself. Should you have a well directed plan which will not take up many pounds your best way will be to write to Mr. John Fordham, now of Royston, or to Sophy, or to both. Do not mention my name; write warefully and a short letter. Nothing much more dangerous to a man's cause than a long letter.

Respects to your wife.

Your affectionate brother,

E. P. Fordham.

Charles Fordham, brother of Elias, came to Albion early in the settlement of the community. After a short residence he removed to Rahway, N. J., where he died more than 60 years ago aged 59 years, leaving a family of three small sons. One of these sons, Charles, has been for 45 years a member of a prominent New York business house. During the War of the Rebellion he distinguished himself in both the army and the navy; and one of his sons, William, then a youth of only 18, fought on San Juan Hill in Cuba. His uncle in giving me this information some years later declared that William "was eternally talking and writing about Teddy Roosevelt." Another son of Charles Fordham, Sr., Richard B. Fordham, to the best of my knowledge continues to reside at Rahway and still occupies the properly occupied by his father after his removal from Albion about 70 year ago. He has yet in his possession a number of relics from the English Settlement in Edwards County, including the old compass which the Fordhams used in running the lines between the Wabash and the Bonpas. I regret to say that the grapevine used by Elias P. in making his earliest surveys of the English prairie has not been preserved among the cherished family heirlooms. One of the relics especially prized by Mr. Richard Fordham is the old bank book of George Flower and Elias Fordham showing a balance of 5,000 pounds to their credit in an English bank. Another is an old English bulls-eye watch, 150 year old, carried by the Fordhams in Illinois; and still another is a work on mathematics, 108 year old, formerly owned by Stephenson, the great English civil engineer, before coming into the possession of E. P. Fordham.

The following letter written by Elias Fordham at Royston, Dec. 23, 1818, and addressed to Henry Bradshaw Fearon, author of "A Narrative of a Journey of 5,000 Miles Through the Eastern and Western States of America," was immediately published by Mr. Fearon as "an important document:"

Sir—Having a son in America, who went out with Mr. Birkbeck, I am anxious to gain every information relative to that country. I read with the greatest avidity both Mr. Birkbeck's books, but without satisfaction; since I have read your review of his publication, the grounds of that dissatisfaction have become more apparent. My son, in all his letters, particularly those which have been lately written, draws very different conclusions from Mr. Birkbeck, though they reside upon the

same spot, and view the same persons and things—his ideas on the American character, as well as on the subject of emigration, are precisely yours. Many persons have emigrated, and many have it in contemplation, without any just knowledge of the character of the people, or of the means of supporting themselves in the country; on which account there was wanting such a work as you have produced, a true history of facts without coloring. In reading your work I have received so much conviction of the truth of your representation, that I cannot do justice to my feelings without making an acknowledgments to the author. I am desirous my son should read your work as soon as possible, and therefore request to know if it be published in America, and where; if not, shall send it over immediately.

Yours truly,

ELIAS FORDHAM.

Another letter, one which I understand has never yet been printed, will be introduced here. It was penned at Albion, Edwards County, Illinois, Dec. 9, 1834; addressed by Charles Fordham to Edward King Fordham, Esq., Royston, Hertfordshire, Old England, care Mr. Elias Fordham:

DEAR FATHER:

You will see by the direction at the top of my letter that I have arrived in Illinois. I am now sitting by my Aunt in a comfortable room at Park House, situated about a mile from the town of Albion.

I suppose you were surprised at hearing of my leaving New York. I mentioned in my last letter that cholera was making much headway in the city, so much that the board of health thought it most prudent to report only the hospital cases. When I had fixed the day for departure I was informed by a merchant that the cholera was in the very country I had to pass through, and he seriously advised me not to venture until I should have information of its abatement. As medical assistance was difficult to be had, this delayed me more than a month, for to be without immediate medical assistance a person stands little or no chance of recovery from cholera in this country.

The series of failures of many mercantile houses in the city, caused by the unconstitutional and arbitrary measure of their great blackguard, General Jackson, in the removal of the public funds from the U. S. Bank, throwing hundreds out of employment, made me determine upon quitting New York for the Western country. In this letter you must excuse my not giving any account of the long journey I have performed.

The settlement of Albion agrees with my feeling more than any I have yet seen, and from its being principally settled by English (not that they are better than the Americans) their manners and customs are more congenial to my feeling as an Englishman.

To return again to myself—I have again just recovered from sickness which my Aunt tells me was caused by the exposure I underwent on the river, as I came on board the boat what they term at sea a stearage passenger, to save my pocketbook.

I have a commission which I trust you will execute for me and my cousin, Mr. George Flower, which is that of sending for some Rivet

wheat, 6 pecks; Tartarian oats, 4 pecks; 3 pounds of good Swedish turnip seed; 1 pound of winter cabbage seed of different kinds to stand the winter. All of these may be put into a strong deal box and brought in London by Mr. H. Squire and sent to New Orleans by a merchant or packet ship, consigned to the care of Messrs. Hefford & Langenfrey, merchants at New Orleans, to be forwarded by them to Mr. G. Flower at Albion, Illinois. I mention this route as it is much the cheapest and the parties are well known to each other. The expense of the above mentioned articles may be placed to my Aunt's account at Royston.

If you think of sending anything by Mrs. Ronalds of clothing let it be some of the best plain black cotton velvet, such as they make waistcoats of, and some good dark brown fustian, such as they make shooting jackets of. Irish shirts are not fitted for the climate and are therefore a useless expense.

In my next letter I shall be better able to give you an account of my future prospects and intentions as to my obtaining a living.

Give my kind remembrance to my uncle, C. H. Fordham, and Mrs, Fordham, of Garmsck. Love to all my sisters and brothers, in which my Aunt also unites with me.

I remain your affectionate son,

CHARLES FORDHAM.

Through the failure of the United States Bank the Fordhams in England lost heavily, approximately $50,000.00, hence the extreme rancor toward General Jackson shown by Charles Fordham in his letter to his father.

The eccentric "Aunt Sophia," Elias Pym's youngest sister, was miserly in her habits, so much that she deprived herself of all the luxuries of life. It was said of her that in her latter days she was so superstititous she was afraid to discharge her servants and too penurious to buy butter. To a favorite American nephew, shortly before her death, she confided the information that her best friends were her cats. When Aunt Sophia died a few years ago very aged she left behind a lifetime accumulation of near half a million dollars, but contrary to the fond expectation only four or five thousand dollars of this sum fell to the lot of her American nephews, the bulk of her bequests going to the rich English bankers, the Fordhams of Royston.

Having left Miss Maria Fordham, an invalid, at the new log cabin home of her cousin George Flower it will next be in order to recount some of the incidents in her after life. It would appear, as the story runs, that about the first act was to fall in love, and the second was to get married. At this stage it becomes necessary to introduce the groom, Charles de La Serre, a most unique character, a roving, venturesome Frenchman who had for some years preceding the coming of the English colonists been content to dwell with the roving bands of Piankashaw Indians whose chief habitat for many moons had been round about Piankashawtown, four miles northwest of the present city of Albion.

The rather meager information which I am enabled to present of the La Serre family has been furnished me in most part by the grandson of the groom, Dr. Herbert de La Serre Spence, of Painesville, Ohio. It was

Doctor Spence who inherited and finally arranged for the publication of the manuscript of Fordham's Personal Narrative. I cannot do better than to quote the following letter from him in full:

PAINESVILLE, OHIO, May 6, 1906.

DEAR MR. COLYER:

Your kind letter should have been answered sooner but for delay of the receipt of the family papers.

Information as to my maternal grandfather, Charles de La Serre, is herewith taken verbatim from my dear mother's Memoirs written in 1887. I might preface by saying that almost my earliest memories are of him; for a short story about grandfather often preceded my nightly "tucking in," and I think antedated the legends of Mother Goose. He had a turn for romance and adventure and a genius for ingratiating himself among the Indians with whom he lived for long periods, enjoying their confidence in a marked degree. The Memoir runs as follows:

"My father's family of de La Serre, who lived in the south of France on their own estate, were Huguenots and fled from France at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, leaving all behind them, and settled in Guernsey (the home of many such fugitives), where they have lived ever since. The only thing remaining to them was the title of Viscount and some family relics.

"My grandfather, John de LaSerre, was a man of much property. His first wife was Judith le Mesunes, by whom he had one son, John, who married Mary Chepmell, of Guernsey, by whom he had nine children—William, the present head of the family, George and Charles, Mary, Emily, Eliza, Matilda and Emma. My grandfather's second wife was a LePelly of Guernsey. Her children were Peter, Charles, Nicholas, Octavius, Carey, Sophia, Julia and Marian. My grandfather was not in business and, unfortunately, did not bring up his sons to business. One uncle, Nicholas, was killed at the battle of Talarera; and Peter, a naval surgeon, died on board ship. My father, Charles, when a young man went to America for travel and sport."

The Memoir, after giving the descent of my mother's family on the other side, describes the emigration of her great-uncle, Mr. Flower, and the subsequent arrival of Elias Pym Fordham with his sister, Maria, and the meeting of Charles de La Serre and Maria in an Indian camp. "———— and thus he and Maria Fordham met and were married. They settled in a log cabin and I was born there in 1823. My earliest recollection is lying in bed and seeing the stars between the logs of the cabin wall. I remember the Indians coming into camp and also walking in the forest with my mother, seeing the blazed trees and hearing her sing 'Under the Greenwood Tree.' There my mother died; I knew she was dead but did not understand it. It was decided that my father was to take my sister and me to our maternal grandfather in England, and we set off on our long journey to Philadelphia and arrived at our uncle's, Octavius de La Serre, whence we went on board a sailing vessel. After a long and dangerous voyage, in the autumn of 1829 we arrived in Liverpool and stayed a day or two at my father's cousin's, Carey de Jersey.

Thence we went to London by stage, afterward proceeding to Royston in Cambridgeshire to the house of our great uncle, Edward King Fordham.

"I remember what objects of interest we were to all in that little town. Our dear, handsome, half-French father, who had never been seen by any of his uncle's family; his two little girls, four and six, in their strange quilted hoods and felt socks drawn over their boots for warmth.

"Of my father I can say but little, as we never saw him again after his return to America within two years of bringing us over. Never having been educated in business methods he was never a successful man. He re-married after some years and had three children by his second wife. Of them we know but little. Communication was very uncertain. Letters occasionally came that had been a year on the way. More than once did he propose coming to see us, but could not do so. He fell into ill health, and going one day into his bed room, fell over a basin on the floor, a fragment of which severed an artery and he died before assistance could be called."

Thus ends the reference to Charles de La Serre in the Memoirs. I think he was buried in Pittsburg or its neighborhood.

So you have now about all I know of my maternal grandfather, and I wish I could tell you more. If any points occur to you about Fordham's book that I could possibly make clearer, pray do me the favor of applying to me.

It is impossible, although superfluous, for me to close this brief sketch without a word of reference to my mother, who, of all the good women I have known, came nearest to reaching the expression, "saint on earth." She was absolutely sweet, dutiful and serene. In my thirty years of memory of her I cannot recall one frown nor angry word.

Believe me, Very sincerely yours,.

HERBERT DE L. SPENCE.

I do not know that Charles de La Serre again visited the English settlement in Illinois after his return from England. His brother, Octavius, mentioned as residing in Philadelphia in the year 1829, in its early colonial days, had been a resident of Edwards County and his name frequently appears in the records of the county for the early twenties.

In writing the history of the English settlement in Edwards County George Flower wasted but little ink relating the very important part performed by the Fordhams in establishing and maintaining the colony in its infancy. No reference whatever was made to the marriage of Miss Maria Fordham, nor was space so much as spared to mention the name La Serre nor to convey the slightest hint that any one of that family name resided in the community. There is a suspicion that these omissions were more than mere oversights. In that strenuous period of the early colony settlement might be unearthed an unwritten chapter, a goodly portion of which had better never appear in print. There were dissensions, strife, jealousies, bickerings, quarrels and almost ceaseless litigation extending through a series of years. On November 10, 1821, in the circuit court of Edwards County in a suit against the Proprietors

of the Town of Albion, first brought against Richard Flower personally, Elias Pym Fordham was awarded judgment in the princely sum of $66.50 for his services in full for surveying and platting the new town of Albion, the said town being one mile square. In that same year at the June and November terms of circuit court suits were docketed on behalf of the People of the State of Illinois against Charles de La Serre on the charge of selling spirits without a license. These suits were dismissed by the prosecuting attorney, hence never came to trial. I will divert here a sufficient time to explain that while none today but the oldest citizen can locate the year when the sale of spirits as a beverage was not prescribed in Little Britain, as the metropolis of the English settlement is yet facetiously nick-named, it was not always thus. Our sturdy grandfathers sold it much as they sold flour, vinegar or salt and frequently felt the need of a little for their stomach's sake. But the foretaste of a little lawing appeared to give the La Serres a liking for it. At any rate suits came thick and fast and they were generally pitted against the Flowers and other of the town proprietors. For instance, the purchase of a mill seat east of Albion on the Bonpas, together with a quarter section of land, by Charles and Octavius de La Serre from Richard Flower, led to a series of suits and counter suits in the years 1824 and 1825 between the two La Serres on one side and Richard and George Flower and certain other of the town proprietors on the other side, in which the honors appear to have been about equally shared. In some of this litigation the presiding judge was James O. Wattles, famous as a man of inverted vision, being compelled to hold his books and papers upside down in order to read them. Judge Wattles then resided in a little log cabin in Albion, where his son, the well-known John D. Wattles, the founder and long time editor of the *Sunday-School Times,* was born.

In conclusion it may be said that the trivial matters presented in this paper can have value only to the extent that they contribute to the history of the peopling of the prairies by that courageous caravan of sturdy English who, during the period of disturbed social, political and industrial conditions in their native land, sought here that haven of freedom in thought and action denied them at home. It was of this great outpouring from the British Isles that Faux in his "Memorable Days in America," published in 1823, made this extravagant assertion, namely:

"It is true that no man since Columbus has done so much toward peopling America as Mr. Birkbeck, whose publications, and the authority of whose name, had effects truly prodigious; and if all could have settled in Illinois, whom he had tempted to cross the Atlantic and the mountains, it had now been the most populous state in the Union."

The attempt has been made in this paper to show that though Birkbeck and Flower were active in the initiative of the English settlement, credit was largely due Elias Pym Fordham for its actual founding and early sustenance.

I close with a single quotation from an editorial comment found in the London Quarterly Review, page 91, Volume 27, printed in 1822, referring specifically to this movement toward the prairies of the Illinois country:

"There are thousands of our poor countrymen who have been seduced from their homes by these artificers of fraud; have embarked their little all in their journey to these gloomy wilds, that are at this moment pining in despair, and hastening to a strange grave with broken hearts. They cannot return, and the land of their birth will know them no more. Happily, their sufferings are not greatly protracted, for the climate is not congenial to their constitutions and they perish 'before the moth.'"

Despite this dire prediction we find that the great majority of those early immigrants survived and prospered. It is true that today no one of the name Fordham, La Serre nor Birkbeck resides in Edwards County; yet it is true that a very large part of the present population of the county are either grandchildren or greatgrandchildren of those early English colonists of the first quarter of the last century.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATE CONSTITUTIONS.

Christopher B. Coleman, Butler College, Indianapolis.

Under this heading I want to present a few considerations of a rather general character brought home to me casually during work involving some incidental study of State Constitutions, chiefly in the old Northwest Territory.

I was at the outset rather pleasantly surprised to find these Constitutions an interesting study. Ambassador Bryce in his American Commonwealth long ago (1888) observed (c XXXVII, vol. II, p. 434) that "the State Constitutions furnish invaluable materials for history. Their interest is all the greater because the succession of Constitution and amendments to Constitution from 1776 till today enables the annals of legislation and political sentiment to be read in these documents more easily and succinctly than in any similar series of laws in any other country. They are a mine of instruction for the natural history of democratic communities. Their fullness and minuteness make them, so to speak, more pictorial than the Federal Constitution. They tell us more about the actual methods and conduct of the government than it does."

There is not only interest, there is room for humor also in the study of the State Constitutions. Mr. Bryce is somewhat surprised at times; he exhibits many provisions, especially in the bills of rights, as objects of curiosity and occasionally jokes at them, as in the observation that "twenty-six States declare that 'all men have a natural, inherent, and inalienable right to enjoy and defend life and liberty,' and all of these, except the melancholy Missouri, add, the 'natural right to pursue happiness.'" (Chap. XXXVII, vol. II, p. 424.) He refers to them as "documents whose clauses, while they attempt to solve the latest problems of democratic commonwealths, often recall the earliest efforts of our English forefathers to restrain the excesses of medieval tyranny." (Chap. XXXVIII, vol. II, p. 442.)

Other things besides Mr. Bryce's amused complacency throw a cheerful ray across the path of the student of State Constitutions. The innovations in new State Constitutions cause Eastern writers to make the most mournful and pessimistic comparisons with the time-honored Massachusetts instrument. Professor Stimson of Harvard University, in his very convenient compilation of "The Law of the Federal and State Constitutions of the United States" (1908), deplores the inaccessibility

of State Constitutions. "In Georgia it is not procurable. * * * Some States like New Hampshire and Ohio do not print them at all with their general laws. Oregon and other States entirely omit constitutional amendments, while hardly any State follows the example of Massachusetts in printing the Constitution in its correct form every year, * * * while the usual compilation of the laws of New York and the official compilation of Georgia and several other States commit the last inanity of printing the State Constitution alphabetically under C, as if it were an ordinary law." (P. XXI.) His exasperation finally reached the height of exclamation points. "Owing to the negligence or stupidity of the State authorities in not printing these (amendments) with the annual laws, this (a complete list of constitutional amendments) is a difficult matter to ascertain. In Oregon, indeed, where laws and constitutional amendments are adopted by popular initiative, the Secretary of State complains that they are 'full of bad spelling, punctuation, omissions and repeated words.'" (P. 123.)

There are many things to tax one's patience in the study of the (approximately) 125 State Constitutions in force at one time or another since 1776. For instance, the official and supposedly complete collection of State Constitutions in F. N. Thorpe's American Charters, Constitutions and Organic Laws (otherwise entitled Federal and State Constitutions)published by the Government Printing Office, in the section devoted to Illinois omits entirely the Constitution of 1848, and though published in 1909, has amendments only down to 1900, thus omitting the amendments of 1904 and 1908.

Nevertheless enough material is easily accessible and enough good work has been done to make it possible for any one to go into the subject as far as he wants to, and to get considerable enlightenment. The official seven-volume compilation of Federal and State Constitutions edited by F. N. Thorpe, just referred to, though imperfect and not well indexed, contains most of the official documents one needs, and can easily be supplemented so as to give one a collection complete to within the last two years. Then beginning with Judge J. A. Jameson's, The Constitutional Convention, a great work, though written to prove the untenable proposition that the State constitutional convention is legally under the direction of and subject to the authority of the State Legislature, with Bryce's luminous study in chapters XXXVII-XXXVIII of his American Commonwealth, and Cooley's Constitutional Limitations, there are a number of books and articles which not only incorporate an enormous amount of work and so save the time of the investigator, but are well worth reading. Among these I can only make mention of Borglau: Adoption and Amendment of Constitutions; Prof. Dealey's, Our State Constitution (supplement to the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Mass., 1907; Prof. Garner's article upon the Amendment of State Constitutions in the American Political Science Review, February, 1907; Lobingier, The People's Law; Stimson, Law of the Federal and State Constitution of the United States, 1908, and the Year-book of Legislation issued by the New York State Library. New York has been given an exhaustive treatise in the four-volume Consti-

tutional History of New York by Lincoln, which supplies most of the material for, if it does not often give the interpretation of the constitutional developments in that state. The best recent piece of work with which I am familiar has been done by Walter Fairleigh Dodd, "The Revision and Amendment of State Constitution," 1910, an accurate, complete, convenient and convincing treatment of the subject. In nearly every state, moreover, there are full records of the formation of the Constitution in the shape of journals and debates of the constitutional conventions. There are many monographs, also, as in Illinois, in the University Studies on the Illinois Constitution Convention of 1862, and addresses—Vice President Stevenson's address before this body in 1903 upon "The Constitutional Convention and Constitution of Illinois," and papers before other historical societies.

The general outline of the developments of written state constitutions from the revolution to the present generation, has been frequently traced and with tolerable unanimity. We are not a people of striking originality in our political life, and there is greater similarity between the constitutions adopted in different states at a given time than one would expect. The New England states have been slow to remake their constitutions. Three of them have lasted 115 years or over, and the average of the constitutions in effect just before New Hampshire adopted a new one in 1903, was nearly 100 years. Other states have revised their constitutions more frequently, and counting the New England states in, the average life of a state constitution has been about thirty-one years. These two facts, namely, that constitutions of different states tend toward a given model, and that there are frequent revisions, make it easy to distinguish certain periods, the first three of which are best described perhaps by Mr. Bryce. (American Commonwealth, Chap. XXXVIII.) Though he omits some elements which have been decisive in many states, such as the internal improvement episode in the middle west.

The first period covers the first thirty years of our independence, and constitutions formed during these years manifest a dread of and reaction from executive tyranny, together with a disposition to leave everything to the legislature. The legislature was supposed to represent not so much the whole people as the best people. The people themselves were not thought of as capable of much political wisdom. Everything for the most part centered in the legislature; the choice of governor, the control of the various departments of the government, even the making and changing of the constitution itself.

The second period extends from about 1805 to about 1846. States entering the Union during this time, or revising their government, drew up documents giving the people generally a larger part in the government. The suffrage was opened to all white male adults, nearly all offices were to be filled by popular election, terms of office were short so as to pass the offices around more frequently and give what President Jackson called a "healthful action to the system" (Annual Message to Congress, 1829), and changes in the Constitution were to be wrought chiefly if not solely through constitutional conventions elected by the people.

The third period began about 1845 or 1850, and was precipitated by the mistakes and incompetency of the legislatures, by the enormous development of log-rolling and private legislation, and especially in this part of the country by the extravagant and dangerously large expenditure for internal improvements. In the old Northwest Territory, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois revised their constitutions and the other states came into the Union with constitutions formed under this impulse. Important limitations, especially in financial matters, were put upon the power of the legislature, and a curb was placed upon private legislation. Generally the power and the length of term of the governor was increased, he was more than before regarded as the representative of the people—the fear of a strong executive was declining. The net result of this development was a relative conservatism. Change in state government became more difficult than before, and the policy of state governments became generally more conservative.

We have for some years been passing into a fourth period in which is apparent a tendency toward more complete democracy. The lengthening of the constitution so as to make it a kind of direct popular legislation, the incorporation in new constitutions or grafting by amendment upon old ones of measures such as the initiative, referendum, recall, and direct primary are indications of the tendency to bring the government more directly than before into the hands of the people.

In addition to this formal development of our state governments witnessed to by changes in their organic law, there has been steadily taking place the usual development of a more informal sort by judicial interpretation and by custom. As has been frequently remarked, the shorter life, the easier methods of amendment, and the greater detail of our state constitutions, have given less scope to judicial interpretation in our state than in our national history. The question of constitutionality in state courts is more frequently a matter of getting some clear meaning out of obscure or ambiguous phrases, of overturning laws through technical errors in their construction, in short, more artificial and less satisfactory than is the case with questions of federal legislation and constitutionality. The repetition of this long and laborious process of construction is one of the strongest arguments against constitutional revision. Perhaps the most clearly established and universally developed principle of judicial action is this, that the state legislatures are bodies of residuary and not of merely delegated authority, or to state it differently, that power not lodged elsewhere and not forbidden to the legislature may be exercised by that body. Yet even this the character of some of the articles of some of the most recent constitutions, e. g. Oklahoma and the proposed constitution of New Mexico, seem to deny.

Custom has been perhaps more active in developing a new character in our state governments than is generally supposed. Party organization, the lobby, the growth of commissions, the nonpartisan or bipartisan reform of state institutions such as prisons, reformatories and asylums, centralizing tendencies in the management of local institutions, the socializing of education, care of the public health, and numerous other easily recognized developments have transformed the condition in which our political life is lived.

It is easy to see now that democratic government in our state is not the simple thing it was at first thought to be. The reaction from the strong executive of colonial days to the omnipotent legislature, and the reaction back toward a strong executive, the complicated and unsystematic efforts in new constitutions to correct acknowledged abuses, show the need of something more than abstract theory to guide us.

There are those who think that the old threefold division of government into the legislative, executive and judicial departments can no longer be maintained. Certain it is that few if any recent state constitutions can be systematically arranged on that basis. They contain the divisions of the executive, the legislative and the judicial, and then a multitude of other provisions. Professor Dealey speaks not merely of the three historic departments of government, viz, the executive, the judicial and the legislative, but also of the differentiations from these, the administration, the electorate, and that nameless agency which in every state has the legal right to formulate the fundamental law, an agency which for want of a better name may be called the "Legal Sovereign." (Our State Constitutions, p. 2.) By *administration* he means the boards and commissions, the departments of state, treasury, education, the auditor, controller and other departments by which most of the expert work of state government is done. By the *electorate* he means the voters, considered not as the "sovereign people," but as a government agency acting under the constitution and possessing power of appointment to office by election, judicial power through service in juries, and in some states the power of legislation through the referendum and initiative. By the *legal sovereign* he means practically the constitutional convention, i. e., the voters in their act of determining the fundamental law by which all other acts of government are determined. This he thinks "is the great agency through which democracy finds expression."

Whether we agree with this rearrangement or not, we can easily see that the simple outlines of the governments supposed in the time of the revolution to prevail are no longer sufficient and no longer prevail. Legislative, executive and judicial departments overlap in some instances (e. g. legislative reference departments, commissions) and leave gaps in other (for example, working men's compensation laws are excluded by some constitutions). There is room for a still greater development of commissions or commissioners to deal with business and private interests than has yet taken place, and as Mr. Bryce points out in the last edition (1910) of the American commonwealth, the success in England of bodies with quasi-judicial powers in dealing with quasi-public interests would warrant a larger application of this department of government in the United States. Railroad, public utilities, and other commissions such as have been introduced in New York, Massachusetts, Wisconsin and to some degree in most states, have apparently been an effective and convenient method of dealing with a heretofore complicated problem. I am not certain that our constitutions would not be simpler and more intelligible instruments if we abandoned the threefold division of government in them entirely and, instead of trying to bring them under the old categories, outlined our state governments by the descrip-

tion of the organs of government and the functions of government as they are actually established.

The rise of new industrial and social conditions and of new political devices not foreseen by the makers of our state constitutions has brought the amending power into greater prominence than formerly. There are many ways of amending constitutions in force in different states, on the initiative of the legislature by varying majorities in both branches and the popular referendum in varying required majorities, or on initiative of a commission appointed for that purpose (New York) and referendum of the people, or by the initiative of the legislature and by action of a convention with or without a popular referendum, or even by action of successive legislatures with two-thirds majority in each house (Delaware). It is even possible in some states to secure a sort of higher or second degree legislation by way of constitutional amendments. In cases where the constitution contains lengthy, detailed and complicated provisions which are really in the nature of legislation, ease of amendment is desirable and even necessary, if embarrassing situations are to be avoided. While there are objections to this sort of constitutions and to their flexibility, such as the complication of their judicial interpretation, and the shifting of responsibility from the legislature, there is no inherent reason why this practice should not be condemned in toto and excluded from our governmental system. The tendency is certainly in this direction, as is seen in the greatly increased length of recent constitutions, (Oklahoma, 175 pp., Alabama, 69 pp. fine print, Louisiana, 144 pp.) and by the frequency of amendments. It has been figured that in the decade 1894-1904 there were 412 amendments to state constitutions formally and legally prepared, and 230 adopted. (Garner, Am. Pol. Sc. Review, pp. 245-6.) California is especially prolific in this respect, having adopted amendments forty-two times between 1888 and 1908 (Stimson, p. 123). This year in California, after the victory of the Progressives caused an overturning in the state government, twenty-three amendments to the constitution have been submitted by the legislature to the people, providing among other things "for the initiative and referendum, the recall for all elective offices, including judges, and for woman's suffrage." (The Nation, May 11, 1911, Vol. XCII, pp. 459-460.)

Illinois and Indiana have constitutions among the most rigid in the United States. The requirement by the former is that a proposed amendment must be approved by "a majority of the electors voting" at the election, while in the latter a majority of the electors is required, and the judicial instruction has been that this means a majority of the people qualified to vote whether they vote or not (69 Ind., 505, 1880), though the court has also maintained that in the absence of registration the number voting shall be presumed to be the number qualified to vote (156 Ind., 104, 1901). These and other restrictions have made it extremely difficult to amend either constitution, with the result that in Illinois the agitation for direct primaries involved almost insuperable obstacles, and in Indiana of late years constitutional amendments have been apparently impossible. Indeed, the Indiana constitution has only been amended twice since its adoption in 1851, namely in 1873 and in

1881. The Governor of Indiana has this year embarked in a revolutionary scheme of procuring the passage in the legislature of a bill submitting a new constitution to the people and providing means of counting all straight party votes as votes for or against the constitution according to the party platform. The present constitution, while it prescribes a process for amendment, makes no provision for the calling of another constitutional convention, nor does it make any mention of procedure for securing a new constitution. The Governor and the majority of the legislature argue that this leaves the door open for the legislature to prepare a new constitution to the people. As far as Indiana is concerned, however, there would be just as much precedent for the Governor himself submitting a new constitution to the people without the intervention of the legislature. If on the other hand the new constitution be, as is claimed by the opposition, not in fact a new constitution but a series of amendments to the old, the whole procedure is plainly unconstitutional. The matter has, however, been brought into court by a petition to prevent the vote upon the proposed constitution.

It seems, however, only a matter of comparatively few years until many of the states of the middle west which have not recently revised or substantially amended their constitutions will have to call constitutional conventions. These conventions have in the past undoubtedly represented the highest intelligence and the best character of the people, they have been in many respects the most successful element of our political systems. Yet it is doubtful whether the immediate future will be an opportune time for the formation of new constitutions. There is such a rapid change of political conditions that constitutions would have to be made on the jump, and frequently the jump would be in the dark. The permanent effect of many recent devices such as the direct primary is not yet clear. The initiative and referendum with much to commend them have many vicious possibilities, and the recall may not be productive of a higher quality of office holder. The short ballot is perhaps the one agitation now becoming acute which has the greatest promise and the least weight of objection against it, but even this probably can and should be tried out in city governments a little while longer before its effects can be absolutely counted on. In short, just as in the construction of dwelling houses so many new improvements are developing, such as the open air sleeping porch, the sun parlor, electrical housekeeping and laundry appliances, that the perfect house of yesterday is unsatisfactory today, and the prospective builder gains by waiting a while, so in the construction of state constitutions the time for wise and permanent revision does not seem to be at hand.

Meanwhile experience is being accumulated and definite scientific information is becoming available. In our legislative reference libraries as well as in universities and text-books, a science of comparative legislation is rapidly taking form. We are becoming better able every year to judge accurately of conditions and to know the exact workings of political institutions. It ought not to be long before our law and constitution making bodies will have the advantage which the English Parliament enjoys of having expert commissions to study the effect of proposed legislation and expert political scientists to properly draft statutes.

LINCOLN AND THE BEGINNING OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN ILLINOIS.

Oliver P. Wharton, Los Angeles, Calif.

To write a chapter of my knowledge of, and acquaintance with Abraham Lincoln is to make it principally marked by brevity. I bought the Rock Island *Advertiser,* a Whig newspaper, early in September, 1853, and then first heard of him as the acknowledged leader of that party in Illinois, a man of marked honesty and sincerity of purpose, utterly devoid of demagoguism and trickery in politics. The year following the Rock Island railroad was completed through to the Mississippi River at Rock Island and a bridge across that river was built in 1855 and I was secretary of a meeting to lay the corner stone of the drawpier of that bridge. As soon as it was finished the St. Louis Merchants Association brought suit against the Bridge Company to compel the removal of the bridge as an obstruction to navigation. The suit was tried before Chief Justice McLean of the Supreme Court of the United States at Chicago. Abraham Lincoln was chief attorney for the Bridge Company and I was a witness in behalf of the Company, having been requested by Joseph Knox, resident attorney for it at Rock Island, to act in that capacity by assisting in testing the current of the river through the draw for the passage of boats. In this way I got more knowledge of the character of Lincoln, who conducted the case for the Bridge Company with such masterly ability that the opposition had no show of any consequence for its contention against the right to bridge the Mississippi River at any point where the interests of transportation east and west required such a structure.

But in 1856 I first became personally acquainted with Abraham Lincoln. The Whig editors of Illinois found themselves rather destitute of a party, and sought a way to get a new organization of one to fight the repeal of the Missouri Compromise with its design to extend slavery into Kansas, and, in fact, to make the holding of negroes as slaves in all the states of the Union legal, as the act of the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court of the United States declared that no negro could bring a suit in any court to gain his freedom from slavery because he was not a citizen entitled to sue in any court.

So the Whig editors of Illinois, to further their purpose of organizing such a new party, called a convention of themselves at Decatur in that State and invited Mr. Lincoln over from Springfield, his home, to meet

with them for consultation and advice. I attended that convention, was put on the Committee on Resolutions, thus being brought into direct contact with Lincoln, who proved a very genial and capable adviser indeed. If I remember rightly he was the author of the States' Rights Plank of the platform we drew up, and we were highly pleased with it. We ended the session by calling the convention to nominate a state ticket for the new party and complete its organization as a state and national party at Bloomington, May 29, following; this was done and Mr. Lincoln went there, made his first speech of adherence to the new Republican Party and it was victorious in the fall election.

When I next met Mr. Lincoln in convention it was at Springfield two years after the Bloomington nomination, where the state Republican delegates met, re-nominated the state ticket previously elected and nominated Lincoln himself for United States Senator to make that celebrated campaign against Stephen A. Douglas, author of the Missouri Compromise repealing act. It was at the Springfield Convention in 1858 that Lincoln made his memorable speech beginning with the scriptural quotation "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I was sitting on the steps of the rostrum of the Senate Chamber from which he spoke, and at the conclusion of his speech he sat down on the steps beside me and to my surprise demanded to know what I thought of it. Of course, I felt rather taken aback, but considering the brevity of his speech and its sudden conclusion, I replied that he had spoken too briefly—that he had made a brave speech, patriotic and pointed, but it seemed to me too lofty for his audience which appeared rather dazed by it and acted as though he had not said enough nor put enough of himself into it. It was plain that he should have said more to create enthusiasm and send the assembly away in a better humor. Lincoln responded that my criticism was perhaps correct as the audience did appear rather quiet, and that if I would write a resolution commending the re-nomination of the state ticket and the acts of the party during its brief existence, etc., he would offer it himself and make such further remarks as the case seemed to require. I wrote the resolution requested by him, and he did get up and offer it with some Lincoln-like remarks which had the effect desired and all went off apparently well satisfied. The truth came out afterwards that he had submitted his speech to some of his party associates and they had strongly advised him against making such a speech, for if he did Douglas would carry the state and win the Senatorship. There was not then at that time much anti-slavery sentiment among the voters of Illinois and his speech actually sounded the death knell of slavery in the United States if they were to remain united.

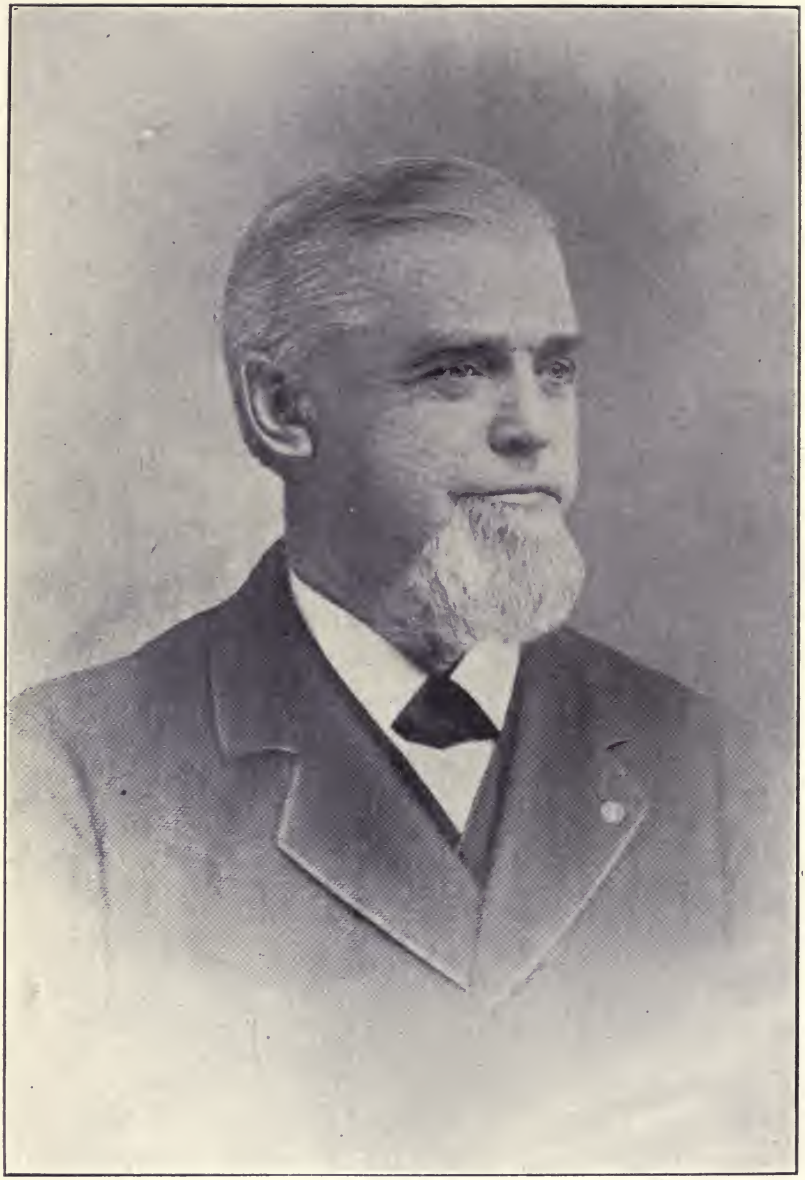
The result of the campaign was that Mr. Lincoln was beaten for the Illinois Senatorship, but his triumphant debate with Douglas made him President two years afterwards.

I never saw Mr. Lincoln after that Springfield Convention in 1858 and the way I happened to go to it was at the earnest request of Joseph Knox, of Rock Island, who was the regular delegate, as his proxy. I think Knox had a delicacy about going to the Convention as he knew

Mr. Lincoln would be nominated for Senator against Douglas, and Knox had always previously been a warm partisan of Douglas and bitterly opposed to Lincoln as leader of the Whig party, and was, in fact, chief orator for the Democratic party in Northern Illinois, and a public character of much prominence. He was, however, of Massachusetts birth and education and always opposed the extension of slavery, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. In fact, he voted for Fremont, the first Republican candidate for President, and the Republican ticket always afterward.

Many stories of Lincoln I have heard and might repeat, but I will spare the reader further infliction on this subject.

April 14, 1911.



WILLIAM H. COLLINS

WILLIAM HERTZOG COLLINS.

AN APPRECIATION.

During the past year the State Historical Society has lost by the death of William Hertzog Collins one of its directors who was also one of its earliest and most highly valued members. He has joined the "Great Majority" who have passed into the other life. He died at his home in Quincy, Illinois, July 29, 1910, at the age of seventy-nine years.

Mr. Collins was born in Collinsville, Illinois, March 20, 1831, and attended the public school in that place. Later he graduated at Illinois College in Jacksonville, a member of the class of 1850. He later served as trustee of the institution for several years.

After leaving Illinois, he took a post-graduate course at Yale in philosophy and theology, and for six years was pastor of the Congregational church at LaSalle, Ill. In 1858, he bought a controlling interest in the Jacksonville, (Ill.) Journal, which he conducted until 1861, when he was made Chaplain of the Tenth Illinois Infantry. A short time later he resigned this position for one in which he might perform a more active service, and assisted materially in raising the One Hundred and Fourth Illinois Infantry. He was chosen to command Company D of this regiment, and participated in the battles of Elk River, Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, Mission Ridge and Ringgold. In the spring of 1864, he was appointed upon the staff of Major General John M. Palmer and he served with distinction during the campaign which ended with the fall of Atlanta. From December, 1864, to December, 1865, he served as Provost Marshal of the Twelfth district of Illinois.

In 1866, Mr. Collins engaged in the manufacture of plows and agricultural implements in Quincy, and later organized the Collins Plow Company. He was also interested in other business enterprises in Quincy but for the last decade or two he had not been in active business.

In politics, Mr. Collins was an ardent republican. While seldom being an avowed candidate for office, he has been the nominee of his party on numerous occasions, and for many responsible offices, and when elected proved himself to be worthy of the people's confidence. Though the representative district, city and ward were overwhelmingly democratic, he was twice elected to the State Legislature, was an alderman from the ward in which he lived, and when death occurred in the mayoralty chair

during his service as alderman, he was elected to the vacancy by a democratic council. He was a member of the State Legislature from 1884 to 1892.

Mr. Collins was a member of the State Historical Society, and, for several years was Historiographer of the Quincy Historical Society and was much interested in matters pertaining to both. He had been president of the Anna Brown Home for the Aged in Quincy for many years. He was always interested in the various phases of education and did much to place the Quincy public school system on its present efficient basis He was president of the Board of Education for a number of years, and resigned on account of ill health a few weeks before his death.

Mr. Collins was also a writer of ability, having contributed largely to the local press, and to magazines. His writings cover subjects of travel, hunting expeditions, economic questions, theological controversies, and general philosophy. Some of his magazine articles are "Elements of Truth in all Religions," "Reaction of Law upon Theology," and "The Logos."

During his service in the State Legislature, he gave by invitation, orations upon Decoration Day, upon the occasion of the memorial service of Senator John A. Logan, and upon the occasion of the anniversary of the death of President Lincoln, both of the last two were extensively published by the daily press.

It was upon such themes as these that Mr. Collins' oratory was especially strong. By reason of his training as a preacher and his strong religious faith, his highly poetic temperament, his unusually varied experience in life, and his exceptional command of language, what he had to say upon such occasions found ready and wide appreciation and sympathy.

He wrote a great deal of what may be called occasional poetry. All of it has been characterized by keen intellectual quality, true poetic conception and imagination, originality and facility in expression.

Mr. Collins was a man of fine education, had read widely, and was familiar with literature and modern thought. He was abreast of the age in his views, and was ready to present them upon suitable opportunity. He was often called upon to deliver addresses and he embodied his ideas in lucid and forcible language.

He was a public-spirited citizen, deeply interested in the reform movements of the day, which he delighted to discuss, and on which he spoke with fullness and freedom.

Mr. Collins was a splendid type of man, strong, high-minded, bright, cheery, and of noble purposes. Socially he was a delightful companion, and his hospitality was generous, his friends always delighting to visit with him in his home, young people, as well as those of his own age, finding in him a most congenial friend. His radiant disposition did not leave him in his declining years. It cheered him on and brightened the pathways of those about him.

Mr. Collins was one of the men who helped to make Quincy. He was ever enthusiastic in her behalf. For the city he gave a portion of that

affection contained in the patriotic love of his country, for which later he rendered brave and faithful service on the battlefield. With his death Quincy lost one of her most estimable and best loved citizens.

Mr. Collins was not only statesman and scholar but was gifted with poetic thought and fancy. When he was sixty-nine years old he wrote a poem for his birthday anniversary. It was retrospective in mood and abounded in the cheerful philosophy characteristic of the man. Ten years later, on the occasion of his seventy-ninth birthday—on March 20th last, he added in blank verse the reflections on another decade that left him standing on the brink of infinity. He wrote at his winter home at Biloxi, Miss., on the shores of the blue Gulf of Mexico, and beneath a glorious sun. The words he wrote in that placid environment were read as a part of the eloquent memorial tribute of Rev. James Robert Smith, at the funeral services and are as follows:

Ten years! The eager days have hurried by—
  Like glimmering spokes in the swift wheel
Of the revolving years. Familiar scenes
  Viewed in the perspective, now grow dim.
Hands I loved to grasp; voices I loved to hear,
  Are still. Comrades, wrapped in the starry flag
For which they freely shed their blood, are gone!
  Old shores, in outline indistinct, recede—
Still here I loiter with a lazy sail,
  Or drift upon the tide that bears me on,
The islands green, of oak and long-leaved pine,
  With emerald verdure clad, do slowly fade,
Until dissolved, lost in the distant blue.
  My vision sweeps the all-embracing sea;
My thought transcends the bounds of space and time;
  I ask, what waits me in the port I seek?
Shall I know Light of thought, or flame of Love?
  Oft Silence mocks my spirit's earnest quest;
Oft beams of kindly light illume my doubt,
  As sunshine gleams upon the dusky wings
Of the gray seagull, sliding down the slope,
  Of the darkening seas at set of sun.
I look again! I see the gray seagull
  On tireless pinion make his way, till lost
In the bright splendor of the sinking sun.
  This be the symbol of my voyage end.
Oh Spirit of Love and Light, guide me,
  So that my life shall prove a manly part
Of the moral order of this great world.
  When end my four-score years or more, let me
(My anchor cast, my earthly work all done)
  Step erect from deck to ampler life—
Upon the eternal shore!

WILLIAM HERTZOG COLLINS, 1831-1910.

Funeral Sermon by His Pastor, Rev. James Robert Smith.

So speaks Jonathan to his beloved friend, David, when he knows he is not to be in his accustomed place the next day. And so say we today as we come to lay the body of our beloved dead beneath the trees, the grass and the flowers. For surely by the passing of this man a large place has been left vacant to those who remain. When a great tree falls in the forest we are strangely impressed by the place made vacant by its fall. It is difficult to become accustomed to its absence. So when a life which has grown strong in our world, and in our midst, is suddenly removed from its accustomed sphere of activity it is difficult to adjust ourselves to its absence. And here was a life which had come to occupy a large place, in many ways, in our world; and as we stand by his bier we do but state a palpable fact when we say "Thou wilt be missed, because thy seat will be empty."

First, in the realm of politics, statesmanship and public affairs. Throughout his active career he was interested in the public affairs of the civilized world, and particularly of his own beloved country. He was a sincere believer in democracy and representative government. His loyalty to the principles which underlie constitutional government was demonstrated beyond all shadow of doubt when he offered his life on the field of battle for the preservation of the Union during the dark days of the war. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his (friend) country." So there stands to his credit today an honorable record as a soldier of the Republic.

Spared to return to the pursuits of peace he continued to live for his country as nobly as he had offered to die for it in time of war. His example in the business world is one we might all emulate to the very highest advantage. Loved and honored alike by associates and employees. Honesty was the very center of his life and character and he lived what he was in his daily dealings with his fellowmen.

In public life he stood for clean politics, an honest ballot, and for the general public welfare, as opposed to unrestrained selfishness and dishonest men and measures. To attain these high ends he was willing to move slowly if he could feel he was going in the right direction. He was an idealist who moved toward his goal along the line of the practical; willing to take, of the good, what he could get, if he could not get all he wanted. When representing his community in legislative halls, or in any public capacity, he tried to settle in his own mind, from all the facts and conditions, what he thought to be right, and this he proceeded

to carry out without hesitation. If he seemed at any time to waver it was on account of his scrupulous desire to know what was true and right and wise, never for lack of integrity or courage. Thus he stood for the very best things in our State and national life; and when the seat of such a man is made vacant by death most truly do we say "thou wilt be missed."

But he was equally interested in the local community where he lived, and stood for the public welfare there. He leaves behind him a clean and honorable record as a member of our city council. And doubtless he will be most distinctly remembered by the entire community by reason of his long and enviable service as president of the Board of Education. This to him was a labor of love and conscientious public service. He believed that the stability of the government, the peace, prosperity and happiness of the people were dependent upon public education; that our public schools are the very citadel of our liberties. Thus without remuneration of any kind, and sometimes in the face of bitter criticism, he gave his time and strength and ripe experience, through many years, to the advancement and betterment of our public schools. It would be difficult to measure the debt we owe to him for the great development and improvement of our schools during the last few years. His unselfish spirit was manifest by his service rendered the public through his connection with the schools, as also through his devotion to important local charities and benevolences, after he had retired from his own active business life and deserved a complete rest. It is a noble tribute to his character that he was willing to accept the annoyances incident to such a position simply that he might be helpful to the community. Through these schools the lives of the teachers in them, and the multitudes of young people who have been helped by his services here into an ampler life, he will live on for generations. From this field of his recent activity we but feebly express it when we say "Thou wilt be missed."

And he believed most profoundly in the moral and spiritual culture of the individual and of the community, and was, therefore, a staunch supporter of the church and of religion. His religion was not a narrow dogmatic belief in creeds, rituals and services, but a large, deep, sweet, strong faith in God, in man, in the kingdom of heaven, the ultimate good. He could express himself in Tennyson's beautiful words:

> "Behold, I know not anything;
> I can but trust that good shall fall
> At last—far off—at last, to all,
> And every winter change to spring."

Perhaps nothing more truly represents the honesty of his heart, the clearness and sincerity of his mind than the fact that he refused to preach what he could not understand and intelligently believe and teach others. To him liberty and honesty of thought were priceless. He knew the world had to throw off much ancient dogma, superstition and formality that the soul might be free to commune with the Eternal in spirit and in truth, first hand. So he lived the life of a layman through all these years, although a duly ordained minister, that he might be free in mind and soul and help others to a similar blessing. Thus through this silent lay ministry he helped to leaven the church with a

larger and more ample faith. Even in these last years his mind was clear and his thoughts far in advance of multitudes of much younger men. It was one of the greatest inspirations of my life to talk with him upon the great themes of morals, ethics, religion and philosophy. How refreshing to find a man of his age ever ready to discuss these questions from the most modern point of view, and ever encouraging us of the younger generation to go on and try to lead the world into the larger ways of thinking and living. I must bear a word of personal testimony and say that I regard his life as one of the most helpful influences which ever touched my own.

He believed that religion is an eternal fact of human consciousness because God is Father of the human race and man partaker of the Divine Nature. Thus he saw in all religious creeds and organizations the effort of man to know and worship God; and was, therefore, charitable to all religious creeds and faiths. He believed the human at its best is truly divine, and that the divine can express itself at the highest, in such a universe as this, only through the human; hence he believed in Jesus Christ as the incarnation of God, the Saviour and Redeemer of the world; and in the Christian Church as the expression of His life, and the organization through which His Kingdom must come among men. Surely in our local church, as well as in the church universal, we must say "Thou wilt be missed, because thy seat will be empty."

And in the more personal relationships of life how true this is. What a congenial, companionable friend and neighbor he was. Cultured, well read, familiar with the great literature of the world, of a genuine poetic temperament, democratic by nature and habit, kindly disposed toward all mankind, with a large and interesting life experience, he was a companion who brought to one's life a rich and high enjoyment and strength. No wonder his circle of friends was large and that multitudes in all walks of life feel a sincere loss in the passing of this firm and gentle man. He felt himself above no one who was true and honest. His was the aristocracy of heart and mind. He was truly a citizen of the world and was genuinely respected and honored by all classes of people who knew him.

Thus even those of us who stand outside his family circle can, in a measure, understand why he was idolized by his own family, and why his children sacredly revere his name and memory. None so feelingly and truly as those of his own household—the ones who knew him best—can say "Thou wilt be missed because thy seat will be empty." Their loss is great; but, after all, how rich they are in the heritage of the name and memory he leaves.

He made no pretension to perfection, and would be the first to check our unstinted praise. About all he would probably let us say is that he did sincerely try to so live that the mistakes of his life should be those of the human judgment and not the intention of the heart. But I am sure he will forgive us for what our love prompts us to say more than this. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord; they rest from their labors, but their works do follow them." He has lived a strong, natural, normal, beautiful life—a Christian in the truest sense of the word—

and, having set his house in order, passed peacefully on to the larger life for which this had been a true preparation.

For need we stay to argue the immortality of such a soul? Its very strength, power and beauty are sufficient. Let the one who asserts that all this which we have known and loved in him can perish with the mere passing of a breath come forward with his frail arguments, but we shall still say:

"There is no death! the stars go down
To rise upon some other shore,
And bright in heaven's jewelled crown
They shine forever more.

There is no death! although we grieve
When beautiful, familiar forms
That we have learned to love, are torn
From our embracing arms.

Although with bowed and breaking heart,
With sable garb and silent tread,
We bear their peaceful dust to rest,
And say that they are 'dead.'

They are not dead! they have but passed
Beyond the mists that blind us here
Into the new and larger life
Of that serener sphere.

And ever near us, though unseen,
The dear, immortal spirits tread;
For all the boundless universe
Is life—there are no dead."

So as we have seen this mind and soul live on above the failing body in the last few years we shall have an increasing faith in Paul's beautiful statement of the truth, "Though the earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens." And in Jesus' words, "In My Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so I would have told you; for I go to prepare a place for you." For ourselves we say, "Thou wilt be missed, because thy seat will be empty." But for him we say:

"Servant of God, well done!
Rest from thy loved employ;
The battle fought, the victory won,
Enter thy Master's joy.

The pains of death are passed;
Labor and sorrow cease;
And life's long warfare closed at last,
His soul is found in peace.

Soldier of Christ, well done!
Praise be thy new employ;
And, while eternal ages run,
Rest in thy Saviour's joy."

May God comfort and sustain this bereaved family; and may He lead us all on at last into the larger life whither our beloved has gone.

MILE-STONE SIXTY-NINE.

Written by Wm. H. Collins on his Sixty-ninth Birthday, March 20, 1900.

Across the sweep of nine and sixty years
Fair was the dawning of my natal day.
White cloud-fleets lay upon the azure sky,
When, borne upon a tidal wave of life,
From the silent realm of mystery,
A helpless, naked immigrant, I came.

Warm were the greetings. Canopied with smiles
My cradle. Tender ministries of love
Responded to my cry, and mother's hope
Began in thought to cast my horoscope.

Those little hands! What fabric shall they weave?
Of hemp and silk some texture strong and fine,
Strong to defy life's hardest wear and tear?
Will they be skilled and used to make, or break?
Those fingers, will they clasp the sword, or pen?
The sculptor's chisel, or the artist's brush?

Those lips, so warm upon the springs of life!
Will they give voice to harsh, discordant words
To cut and wound and hurt the listening ear?
Or shape to melody the charms of song?
Or speak the burning words of eloquence,
To charm or soothe or rouse the multitude?

Those soft, pink feet! Will they be torn and bleed
Upon some rugged, flinty path of life ?
Or with firm step climb up the hills of God,
And so, thro' service, gain the crown of life?
That brain! What subtile thinking shall it do?
What depths profound, what heights will reach?

When doubt its shadows o'er the pathway casts,
Will it converge the broken lines of light,
And in the focus find the problem solved?
When will is weak and on temptation's point,
Will conscience, like the magnet, tremble back
In line with the eternal poles of right?

By mile-stone "sixty-nine" I, pensive, stand
To trace again, in thought, my winding path.
A barefoot child, his every pulse a bound,
And careless as the butterfly he chased.
Then, eager, restless boy, so full of life,
Hands often torn by thorn pricks set to fend

The rosy bloom which he had rudely seized;
Feet clogged with mire from dismal swamps,
Where he the "will-o'wisp" had chased in vain.
Oft with his dog and gun, o'er moor and fen,
In air and sunshine tramped the live-long day,
To gain a tougher fiber, stronger nerve,
Commune with nature in her various moods,
Her springs and winding creeks and gray old hills,
Her flowered meads and forest solitudes.
Not vain the visions of the mother's hope!
In manhood's strength he led a strenuous life,
Problems of life and thought he tried to solve,
And so for others make the pathway clear
In tangled shadows of the forest lost,
The path that leadeth on and up to light.
So, too, he served with tongue and pen
For freedom on the battle fields of thought.
And when the bugle blew, he answered, "Here!"
On battle line, mid crash and roar of guns.

And when the sword was sheathed, mid furnace fires
And hammer blows upon the anvil's face,
Mid smoke and showering sparks from glowing steel,
He organized strong labor's force and skill
To forge and fit the useful tools of peace.

Love came to him, pure mated love, the love
Of children and of children's children, too;
And home with love, so sweet and beautiful,
Pure as the dew-washed lily's cup, and warm
As is its stamens' yellow flame within.

On summer's bloom doth follow winter's frosts.
The diamond gleams in sunshine; so do tears.
I've stood beside the grave. The heart-string stretched
To bleeding strain I know. Loved voices hushed,
The welcome footfall heard no more, the eyes
Once bright with love, dim with the mist of death.
And shadows yet will fall, I know not when.
But as the star of hope its radiance cast
Upon my path in all the by-gone years,
My trust is firm some star will always shine
For me above the far horizon rim.

I've lived an earnest, plain, contented life.
Content to sink my Ego in the All.
'Tis well: for single dew-drops little are,
But myriad myriads of them make
The sea which floats the commerce of the world;
'Tis myriad stars make radiant the night.

I cherish not a vain regret. Without a fear,
Content, I await the outflowing tide.
I soon will hear the stroke of muffled oar;
From far the chimes of evening's Angelus,
And know the mystery of mysteries.

All's well, since love is love and God is love,
We'll place a wreath on mile-stone "sixty-nine"
And crown my natal as a festive day,
And hopeful wait for three-score years and ten.

Quincy, March 20, 1900.

WILLIAM H. COLLINS.

Ten years have passed since mile stone sixty-nine
Was garlanded with loving thoughts by those
Who gathered 'neath the roof tree to break bread
"And crown his natal as a festive day."

Three score and ten, and still the evening star
Burned clear and bright, not less a star of hope
Because a beacon light to sunset's shore,
But still a token that the day's not done.

The years pass on, almost a decade more,
The glory lingers in the evening sky,
The Master's brush is stayed; He hesitates
To paint away the sunset tints, so long have they
Sent radiance to the world in this man's day.

Another mile stone reached, and we who love him
Cannot gather round and touch his hand, or look
Into his eyes with love and birthday cheer;
But in our heart we consecrate the day,
In thankfulness that one we hold so dear
The father we all love, is with us still.

Helen to her father upon
his seventy-ninth birthday,
March 20, 1910.

OLD COLLINS HOMESTEAD, 1822, COLLINSVILLE, ILLINOIS

THE COLLINS SETTLEMENT IN ILLINOIS.

William H. Collins was the only son of William Burrage Collins the son of William Collins and Esther Morris. William Burrage Collins was married to Elizabeth Wilt Hertzog in Madison County, Illinois, Feb. 26, 1826, by Rev. Salmon Giddings. He was for a time associated with his three brothers in business. Later he bought the larger part of the real estate, and continued to carry on the milling business, the farm and kept a store of general merchandise. He had the "Yankee" versatility, and could turn his hand to useful and skillful work along almost any line. He was a thorough miller, and his brand of flour found a ready market even in Boston, Mass.

He loved the hunter's pastime, which was gratified by the abundance of deer, and other game about Collinsville. He had a compass and chain, and did surveying for neighbors as they needed his services.

He was an "elder" in the church and superintended the Sunday school and led the singing.

He was a man of good health, but he died of typhus fever at the early age of thirty-three, leaving a wife, four young daughters, and a son, William Hertzog Collins.

Among some old papers Mr. Collins found a history of the business enterprises of the Collins brothers written by one of them, Anson Collins. Extracts were made in the Collins book which Mr. William H. Collins compiled, for which he wrote sketches, and finished in 1897—including data of the family from 1630 to 1897.

The names of these brothers were Anson, Augustus, Michael, Frederick and William Burrage. William Burrage Collins was the father of William Hertzog Collins. Anson in one of these extracts writes: "In the month of September, 1817, my brothers Augustus and Michael with myself left the state of Connecticut for the western country. Augustus had been in partnership with me in Litchfield, Conn., about a year and a half. We were not as successful as we wished to be. We settled up and started for New York. Our old goods and such as we bought new were worth $3,585.75. We had not five dollars in cash when we arrived in St. Louis after paying expenses of freight and passage.

"In a few months we moved to the new State of Illinois, bought land, paying at the land office one-fourth of the purchase money.

"The next summer we followed farming on a small scale, erected a small log house, distillery, and in the fall of 1818 built a borre mill costing three hundred and fifty dollars.

"In the spring of 1820 August went to Connecticut for more goods, which he brought to Illinois.

"In the spring of 1822 he went again to Connecticut to bring his family to the west. In the spring of 1823 he opened a store in St. Louis to dispose of goods and shoes. This store was removed to Collinsville, Ill., about May, 1824. In the fall of this year we erected a large distillery. In three years it paid a profit of five thousand dollars.

"In 1821 we engaged in the tanning business. In 1827 we again tried a store in St. Louis. The name of the firm was Augustus Collins and Company. I (Anson) went east and bought goods in the spring, and again in December. During my absence at this time my brother Augustus died."

Writing of the marriage of Augustus in 1824 he states:

"At the east he got him a wife with a marriage portion of some silver spoons, a pair of sugar tongs, a feather bed and some linen, all of which after my brother's death, we returned to her, and also one set of china-ware, and a gilt looking glass, paid for by the company. The marriage ring and her wedding dress he purchased for her with the money of the company, all of which met our entire approbation. As our property of every name and nature was common, we kept no account against each other."

The agitation of the temperance question reached the Collins brothers. Their old pastor, Doctor Lyman Beecher, preached and published his celebrated "Temperance Sermons." These they read.

They brought their distilling business before the bar of conscientious judgment, and decided to abandon it. To avoid even the slightest appearance of compromise, they cut their copper still into scrap. One large copper kettle did duty in preparing water for scalding hogs at the "hog killing time," which recurred each year, or was used for boiling cider or making soap. It yearly went the rounds of the immediate neighborhood in this line of service. The best of the stones under the old distillery were used in the foundation of a church building.

Anson, Augustus, Michael and Frederick now moved to Naples on the Illinois River.

The counties on the river and eastward were producing large crops of wheat. Their plan was to grind these crops into flour, and ship by the river to the markets. They also built a steamboat to use in their trade. In their enthusiasm for temperance, they named it "The Cold Water." This meant no "bar" on board. It was a rebuke to the established customs of the community. It was flaunting a red flag in the face of the majority of the people defying a time honored custom and fundamental right. The result was that when the boat made a landing at St. Louis, it was attacked by a mob, and it was allowed to do business only after a change of name. Doubtless many of the ruffians in this mob were the same who drove Lovejoy out of St. Louis, to meet martyrdom at Alton, for his devotion to liberty and free speech.

The death of Augustus and Anson in their prime, led to other changes. Michael and Frederick removed to Adams County, Illinois. The former operated a farm at Liberty; the latter, after a few years at Columbus, made his home in the city of Quincy.

PART III.

Papers Read at the Special Memorial Meeting, April 14, 1911.

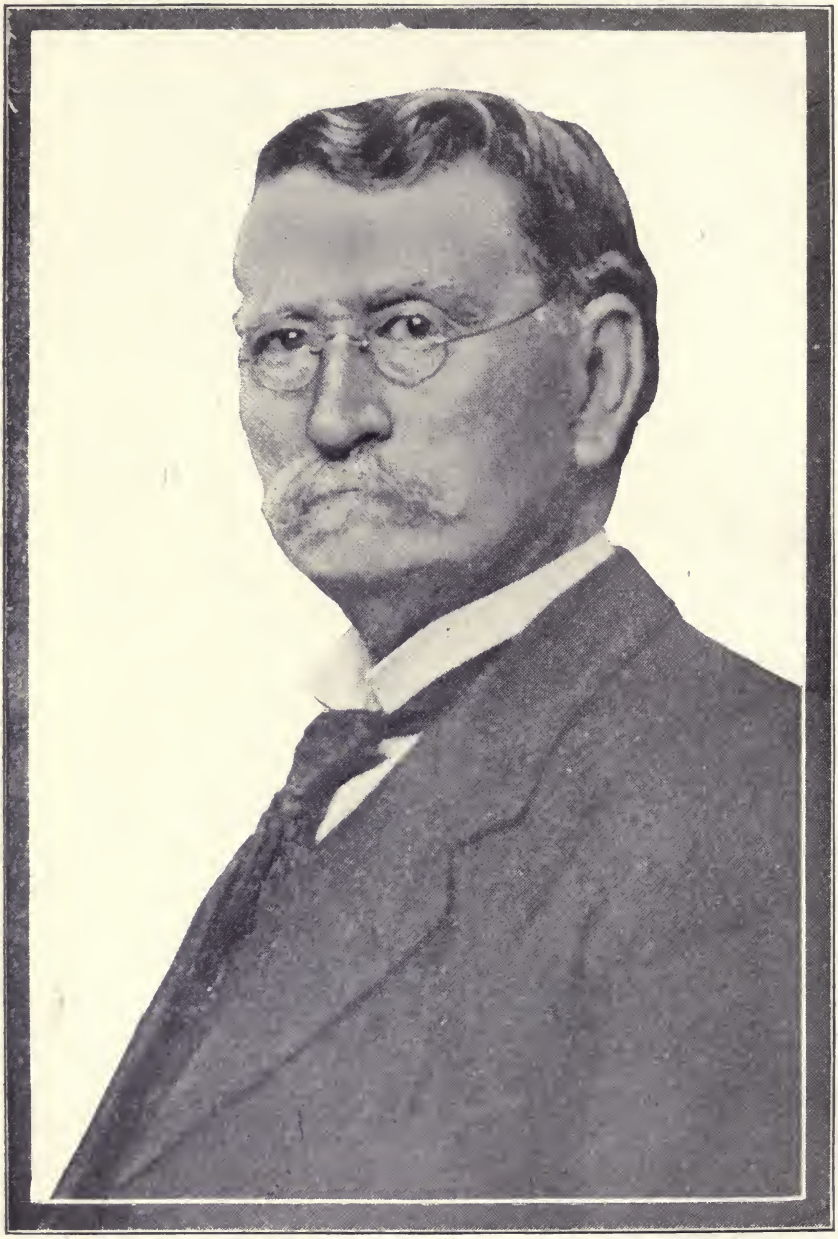
Special Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, Held April 14, 1911, in Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Beginning of the War Between the States.

Friday afternoon, 2:30 o'clock.

Music—"The Old War Songs," under direction of the Woman's Relief Corps Quartette. Mrs. G. Clinton Smith, Leader.
The introduction of speakers was made by Hon. Clark E. Carr, President Illinois State Historical Society.
Music—"Tenting on the Old Camp Ground."
Address—"The Patriotism of Northern Illinois," Gen. Smith D. Atkins, Freeport, Ill.
Music—"Battle Cry of Freedom."
Address—"The Slave Empire," Mr. Eugene F. Baldwin, Peoria, Ill.
Music—"The Vacant Chair."
Address—"Southern Illinois in the Civil War," Hon. Bluford Wilson, Springfield, Ill.
Music—"Marching Through Georgia," "Just Before the Battle, Mother."

Evening session, 8:00 o'clock.

Music—Quartette, "Illinois," "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp the Boys are Marching."
Introduction of the Speaker by Col. Clark E. Carr.
Music—Song, "Lorena," Miss Bessie O'Brien.
Address—"The Civil War," Hon. Marcus Kavanagh, Chicago, Ill.
Music—Song, "Kathleen Mavourneen," Miss Bessie O'Brien.



GEN. SMITH D. ATKINS

"PATRIOTISM OF NORTHERN ILLINOIS."

Gen. Smith D. Atkins, Freeport.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—July 4, 1778, General Clark captured Kaskaskia, replacing the English with the American flag, and all the country west of the Alleghanies, north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, became a part of the Colony of Virginia; July 13, 1787, that Colony, with a magnanimity unparalleled, ceded that magnificent empire to the general government, coupled with the condition that slavery should not exist within the territory ceded. In 1789 the Constitution of the United States was adopted, that recognized slavery in two particulars, the continuance of the African slave trade, and the return of fugitive slaves. April 7, 1818, Congress being about to adopt an enabling act for the admission of the State of Illinois, Nathaniel Pope, delegate in Congress from the Territory of Illinois, moved that the northern boundary of the proposed new State, instead of a line westward through the southern bend of Lake Michigan, be moved northward to 42 degrees 30 minutes, the present northern boundary, adding what became fourteen counties, and parts of others; Dec. 3, 1818, the State of Illinois was admitted with a free State Constitution. In 1820, Missouri applied for admission with slavery, and at the instance of Jesse B. Thomas, United States Senator from Illinois, Missouri was admitted as a slave state in 1821; but westward and north on the south line of Missouri no state with slavery was to be admitted. In 1832, South Carolina, technically on the tariff question, really on the slavery question, attempted to secede from the Union; but the incipient rebellion was quickly suppressed by Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, by a proclamation accompanied by appropriate profanity. Sept. 3, 1850, California, south of the Missouri compromise line, was admitted with a free state Constitution, and many people believed that by that legislation the Missouri Compromise was repealed. July 21, 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed, directly repealing the Missouri Compromise, introduced by United States Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. In 1856 Buchanan, Democrat, was elected President. In December, 1856, immediately after the election, the Dred Scott case was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States. The facts were simple: Dred Scott, a slave, was brought by his master, in 1834, to Rock Island, Ill.; it is curious to note how intimately Illinois is connected with the slavery question from the beginning; for two years Dred Scott was held as a slave on the soil of Illinois, notwithstanding the North West Ordinance of 1787, and the Free

State Constitution of Illinois of 1818; and after he was taken back to Missouri he brought suit for his freedom, and that case found its way by appeal into the Supreme Court of the United States, and that court decided that he was still a slave; that the North West Ordinance of 1787, and the Free State Constitution of Illinois, of 1818, were entirely void on the question of slavery, because there was no power, legislative, executive, or judicial, that could exclude slavery from any place where the Constitution of the United States was supreme. Toombs of Georgia was right. If that decision of the Supreme Court of the United States was to stand, he might call the roll of his slaves at the foot of the Bunker Hill monument in Massachusetts.

In 1858 occurred the joint debates between Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln, turning upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the Dred Scott decision. I attended one of those debates, at Freeport, Ill., Aug. 27, 1858. Mr. Lincoln arrived early in the day, and his room at the Brewster House was soon filled with callers. I was present. There was, in no sense, a consultation of Mr. Lincoln's supporters, but in a general conversation that appeared to come about naturally, Mr. Lincoln read the questions he proposed to ask of Mr. Douglas, the second of which was:

Q. 2. Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits, prior to the formation of such a state constitution?

All of the prominent Republicans present who engaged in the conversation objected to Mr. Lincoln's asking that question of Mr. Douglas, especially Mr. Joseph Medill, Mr. Elihu B. Washburne and Mr. Owen Lovejoy, because they argued that Mr. Douglas would, notwithstanding his unqualified endorsement of the Dred Scott case, answer that the people of a territory could exclude slavery by "unfriendly legislation," and that Mr. Douglas would please the people by his answer, and would beat Mr. Lincoln for Senator from Illinois. After listening to all that was said against his putting that question to Mr. Douglas, Mr. Lincoln replied, "I don't know how Mr. Douglas will answer; if he answers that the people of a territory cannot exclude slavery, I will beat him; but if he answers as you say he will, and as I believe he will, he may beat me for Senator, but he will never be President." And Mr. Lincoln acting upon his own judgment, did ask that question of Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Douglas did answer as every one said he would and as Mr. Lincoln believed he would, and Mr. Douglas did beat Mr. Lincoln for Senator from Illinois; but by his answer he lost the Presidency of the United States, and that joint debate in Freeport made Mr. Lincoln so well known throughout the country that he was himself immediately talked of as a candidate for President.

In 1860 there were four candidates for President: Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, John C. Breckenridge, and John Bell. On the popular vote Mr. Lincoln received 1,857,610; Mr. Douglas, 1,365,976; Mr. Breckenridge, 847,553; Mr. Bell, 560,631. In the Electoral College Mr. Lincoln had 180; Mr. Douglas 12; Mr. Breckenridge 72; Mr. Bell 39. Mr. Lincoln had a majority in the Electoral College of 57 over all opposing candidates, under all the forms of law.

The southern politicians had deliberately divided the Democratic vote between Mr. Breckenridge and Mr. Douglas, making Mr. Lincoln's election certain, which the South desired. Almost instantly the South began preparations for the coming war; the southern members of Congress and Senators resigned; southern state after state passed ordinances of secession, and voted millions of dollars to arm and equip soldiers; on the 9th of February, 1861, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, at Montgomery, Alabama, were chosen President and Vice President of the "Southern Confederacy." Forts, arsenals, and public buildings were seized, and the South became an armed camp.

What was the North doing all this time? Absolutely nothing. The North, like a giant, was still, waiting for the inauguration of the new President, who was inaugurated at Washington, March 4, 1861, speaking kindly to the South in his inaugural address, saying, in part: "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you." Although the South was an armed camp the new President, and the North, quietly waited for the South to begin the war.

On April 14, 1861, fifty years ago today, Fort Sumter was fired upon by the Rebels. On the 15th, President Lincoln called for 75,000 three months volunteers. On the 18th of April, 1861, the proclamation of Governor Yates, of Illinois, calling for six regiments of volunteers, was read in the Court House at Freeport, and a few minutes later William Polk came into the Court House, and requested me to draw up an agreement to enlist in the army, which I did, and signed it before any one else had a chance to do so, and in that manner it happened that I was the first volunteer in Stephenson County that enlisted as a private soldier in the Civil War; before night the company was full, and I was elected Captain, and the company was accepted by Governor Yates, and was soon ordered to Springfield, and between Decatur and Springfield the train was side tracked to let a special train bearing Senator Douglas, who had spoken at Indianapolis the evening before, go ahead of our train, and upon arriving at the Wabash depot in Springfield some one on horseback told us to wait until Senator Douglas arrived from his hotel, and he soon came, and standing up in his open carriage, he welcomed the volunteers to the capital of Illinois, and bade them God-speed in the work in which they were about to engage, saying among other things, "The time has come where there can be but two parties in this country, a party of patriots, and a party of traitors." I tell you, my fellow citizens, my hat went high in the air for Senator Douglas, and I have been one of his admirers from that hour. He was as loyal to his country as was Abraham Lincoln. Better than that, the Douglas Democrats of Illinois, and better still, the Douglas Democrats throughout all the loyal North were as loyal as their loyal leader. Had he lived he would have been a great leader of the loyal people. My company was attached to the 11th Regiment, Col. W. H. L. Wallace.

In that first call for volunteers in the Civil War the fourteen northern counties attached to this State, April 7, 1818, on the motion of

Nathaniel Pope, Territorial delegate in Congress, were especially distinguished. That section was settled almost entirely by immigrants from New England, and the Free States, who loved liberty for themselves, and for all the world besides. From one of those counties, under the command of General R. K. Swift, on April 21, 1861, went troops that occupied Cairo, keeping Illinois in the Union.

How they did come from everywhere, the volunteers—Democrats and Republicans mingling together and crowding around the enrolling officers, party sunk in patriotism—the sun-burned farmer boys from their fields, the grimy mechanics from their shops, the pale student from his school or college, the clerk from his store, the bookkeeper from his counting house, the lawyers from their offices; even the ministers from their pulpits, the grey-haired sire and the slender boy, from every walk in life, humble or exalted, until the ranks were more than full, and with sad hearts they were turned homeward, denied the privilege to be among the first. I think that if President Lincoln had made his first call for a million soldiers for the war, the call would have been quickly filled, and the war quickly ended; but in all probability slavery would not have been destroyed, and I think that I can now see the guiding hand of God in the halting provisions at first made for the great war. But the patriotism of the volunteers never cooled, it only grew deeper and stronger until other calls were made to fill the vacant ranks that the casualties of war had depleted; it was grand beyond any words of mine to tell; and grander and nobler was the abiding confidence and continuing patriotism of the volunteers, that not only in the hours of excitement flamed up, but in the darkest hours of disaster and defeat glowed warmly and brightly, sustaining them in the weary routine duties of dull camp life, on the long and tiresome marches, in the toilsome work of building fortifications, on the lonely picket post, in the sad hospitals, in the Confederate prisons, amid the awful shock of battle, everywhere and always during the long weary years until the final victory came, and the volunteers had saved the Union, had saved the Nation, had saved "the hope of freedom in the world by keeping the jewel of Liberty in the family of Nations."

From one of those fourteen northern counties, Jo Daviess, came a quiet, silent gentleman, anxious to serve his country in any capacity, U. S. Grant, whom I saw in April, 1861, at a table in the hall under a stairway in the old State House ruling blanks to be printed for the volunteer soldiers, and who rose to the command of all the armies, the greatest General of the century in which he lived, twice President of the United States. And from that same northern county came General John A. Rawlins, whose patriotism never cooled, afterwards Secretary of War; and Major General John E. Smith, and Brigadier Generals J. A. Maltby and A. L. Chetlain, and Colonel Thomas E. Champion, and Lieutenant Colonel John C. Smith, and Captain J. Bates Dixon, Adjutant General of the Army of the Cumberland. And from the adjoining northern county of Stephenson came Lieutenant General John M. Schofield, at one time a clerk in the Freeport postoffice, one of the great

army commanders and Secretary of War; and Colonel Thomas J. Turner, ex-Speaker of the Illinois General Assembly, and ex-Member of Congress; Colonel John A. Davis, mortally wounded at the battle of Hatchie; and Colonel Holden Putnam, killed at the battle of Missionary Ridge. And from another northern county, little Boone, came Major General Stephen A. Hurlbut, as gallant and competent a soldier as ever served in any army; and from Winnebago, Colonel Jason Marsh, and Thomas J. Lawler, Commander in Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic. From Lee County, Colonel Silas Noble, and Colonel John B. Wyman of the 13th Illinois, killed at Chickasaw Bayou; and John D. Crabtree, Judge of the Circuit Court; and Henry D. Dement, ex-Secretary of State. From Whiteside, Brigadier General Edward N. Kirk, killed early in the war, and William M. Kilgour; and from Lake County, Gen. John L. Beveridge, Governor of Illinois, and Gen. George C. Rodgers; and from Kane, General John F. Farnsworth, a Member of Congress, and Colonel John S. Wilcox; from McHenry County, Colonel Lawrence S. Church, a member of the Illinois Legislature, and Colonel T. W. Humphrey, killed in battle; and from DeKalb, Daniel S. Dustin, and E. F. Dutton; and from Cook, General John McArthur, General Julius White, General Thomas O. Osborn, General John Basil Turchin, Colonel of the 19th Illinois, one of the best fighting generals of the Army of the Cumberland; Colonel David Stewart of the 55th Illinois; General James A. Mulligan, Colonel Ezra Taylor, Major Arthur C. Ducat, Inspector General of the Army of the Cumberland; Judge Henry V. Freeman, and O. L. Mann, sheriff of Cook County, R. W. Healey, F. A. Starring, Joseph A. Stockton, James A. Sexton, and General Charles T. Hotchkiss. I have only mentioned by name those with whom I was personally acquainted, a few only, a very few of the gallant soldiers among the thousands upon thousands who helped to illustrate the patriotism of northern Illinois in those trying days, all as worthy of mention. After all it was the men who carried the muskets who fought the battles of the great war, and saved liberty for the world, and northern Illinois furnished its full quota of patriotic soldiers.

The war is over. Slavery is forever dead, and has only historical interest. The Union is restored, not only technically, but in the hearts of the people everywhere. One flag, one country, one destiny. May the victory endure "until the stars are old, and the sun grows cold, and the leaves of the Judgment Book unfold."

THE DREAM OF THE SOUTH—STORY OF ILLINOIS DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

Eugene F. Baldwin, Peoria.

The dream of the southern leaders was a great slave empire. In their imagination, they saw the southern states take in the West India Islands, Mexico, Central America, the states of South America fringing on the Caribbean Sea. As the Mediterranean Sea was once a Roman lake, they hoped to repeat the experiment in the new world. They saw in imagination themselves as the rulers of this new empire; divested of the evils attaching to military rule, each man was to be a feudal baron, supreme in his own domain, possessing upon his acres the power of life and death over his retainers, and only controlled by a loose attachment to a central authority.

Jefferson foreshadowed it when he insisted that the policy of the Union was to discriminate against the growth of cities; to hold the agricultural class as the true source of power, the basis of a nation's wealth and the bulwark of the nation's freedom. So late as 1820 Jefferson bitterly opposed the Missouri Compromise, holding that this created a sectional feeling, and that it would be infinitely better to extend slavery over the whole Union than to confine it within territorial limits.

Calhoun had, up to that time, been an ardent protectionist; but now, he too, caught the inspiration and during the rest of his life, devoted himself to instilling into the southern mind a prejudice against northern methods and northern men. He was never weary of saying that at the outbreak of the revolution, Charleston was a more important shipping point than New York City, and but for the tariff, it would still be the great entreport for the south. Really, the tariff was only a pretext for the nullification acts of South Carolina in 1832 which Jackson so resolutely crushed. None of the southern statesmen were able to understand that slavery as an economical proposition was a failure, and while they grew poorer and poorer every year, they sought the cause, not in the failure of their system, but in legislation which they insisted was steadily framed in order to give the north the advantage in trade.

Calhoun also saw that it was idle to attempt to cut the Mississippi Valley in two, and so, he endeavored to detach Illinois from the northern column and to make it a southern state, so that there would be no longer the reproach that the Mississippi must not be obstructed, but "that its waters must flow unvexed to the sea." After the failure of the secession movement in 1832, he advocated the construction of a railroad from

Charleston to Cairo, knowing that with two great slave states—Illinois and Missouri—on each side of the Father of the Waters, the land west of the Mississippi must come into the scheme as a matter of course.

The ordinance of 1787 which dedicated the northwestern territory to freedom was passed as a financial measure because Manasseh Cutler, the fiscal agent for that territory, declared that he could not sell the land if slavery were permitted, and the measure passed by the aid of southern votes. But the southern statesmen soon saw their error and a vigorous effort was made in 1818, when Illinois was admitted to the Union, to have slavery incorporated into its fundamental law. The effort failed by a narrow margin, but the effort two years afterwards was renewed in Missouri and was successful. Encouraged by this effort, an attempt was made in the early 20's to call a constitutional convention for the purpose of admitting slavery, but this was defeated by the patriotism of Governor Coles who, although a Virginian, fought the measure and defeated the pro-slavery men. The conflict, therefore, in the west was fought out in this State under peculiar conditions. The early settlers in the southern part of the State were from the slave states. Numbers of these were poor whites. They settled along the banks of the streams; devoted themselves to hunting and fishing; voted the democratic ticket; hurrahed for Jackson and "damned the nigger." When Douglas and Lincoln were holding their joint debate, Douglas declared that Lincoln would not dare make the same speech in southern Illinois that he made in Freeport and Ottawa, and Lincoln never denied the accusation.

When Sumpter was fired upon and Douglas exhorted his friends to stand by the Union, in the great wave of patriotism that surged over the land like a tidal wave, all classes sprang to arms, and this very element that originally came from the south speedily enlisted and did valiant service for the cause. The stay-at-homes, however, still nourished their old prejudices and frequently avowed that they were willing to contribute to the cause of the Union, but they wouldn't vote a man nor a dollar "to free the nigger." This sentiment speedily found voice.

After the reverses of Bull Run and the failure of the "On-to-Richmond" movement, public opinion steadily drifted away from support of the administration, and in the elections of 1862 a Democratic majority was returned, both in the Senate and the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of this State. They met in Springfield in angry mood. On January 1st the Emancipation Proclamation was to take effect. In the Senate were such men as William H. Green of Massac; W. A. J. Sparks of Clinton; John T. Lindsay of Peoria. Some idea may be obtained of the intensity of party feeling in that day when Lindsay in a public speech declared that "if hell were boiled down to the consistency of a pint of liquid fire and the whole contents poured down the throat of Abraham Lincoln, the dose would be altogether too good for him." In the House were Sam Buckmaster of Madison; Scott Wike of Pike; S. P. Shope of Fulton; W. W. O'Brien of Peoria and Melville W. Fuller of Cook, all of whom figured afterwards in the politics of this State as vigorous opponents of the administration. The House organized by electing Sam Buckmaster speaker, and the Governor's message was laid before them on the 6th day of January.

Fortunately, we had as Governor, Richard Yates, who, although Kentucky bred and born, was an ardent patriot, a believer in liberty, and in his message to this Legislature, he alluded to the policy of emancipation by saying: "It is not to be overlooked that there exists a degree of prejudice in the minds of the people upon the subject of giving freedom to the slave, to which politicians appeal with fatal injury to the cause of that enlightened progress which has been so providentially placed within the reach of the present generation. A grand opportunity is presented to us by the logic of events. By a wise and Christian policy we blot out a mighty wrong to one class of people now in bondage, and secure lasting peace and happiness to another. I am sure of two things. First, that when slavery is removed, this rebellion will die out and not before. Second, I believe and predict and commit the prediction in this State paper to meet the verdict of my successors in office and of posterity that the change brought about by the policy of emancipation will pass off in a way so quietly and easily that the world will stand amazed that we should have entertained such fears of its evils."

This message fell upon deaf ears. The House proceeded to appoint a Committee on Federal Relations and the majority of this committee brought in a report which was as follows:

"WHEREAS, The Union has no existence separate from the federal Constitution, but being created solely by that instrument, it can only exist by virtue thereof; and when the provisions of that Constitution are suspended, either in time of war or in peace, whether by the North or the South, it is alike this Union, and,

"WHEREAS, The federal government can lawfully exercise no power that is not conferred upon it by the federal Constitution, the exercise, therefore, of other powers not granted by that instrument in time of war, as well as in time of peace, is a violation of the written will of the American people, destructive of their plan of government and of their common liberties, and,

"WHEREAS, The Constitution cannot be maintained, nor the Union preserved in opposition to public feeling by a mere exercise of the coercive powers confided to the general government, and that in case of differences and conflicts between the states and the federal government, too powerful for adjustment by the civil departments of the government, the appeal is not to the sword by the State or by the general government, but to the people peacefully assembled by their representatives in convention, and,

"WHEREAS, The allegiance of the citizen is due alone to the Constitution and laws made in pursuance thereof—not to any man or officer or administration—and whatever support is due to any officer of this government is due alone by virtue of the Constitution and laws, and,

"WHEREAS, Also, the condition of the whole republic, but more especially the preservation of the liberties of the people of Illinois, imperatively demands that we, their representatives, should make known to our fellow countrymen our deliberate judgment and will,

"*We, therefore, declare,* that the acts of the federal administration, in suspending the writ of *habeas corpus,* the arrest of citizens not subject to military law, without warrant and without authority—transporting

them to distant states, incarcerating them in political prisons, without charge or accusation—denying them the right of trial by jury, witnesses in their favor or counsel for their defense; withholding from them all knowledge of their accusers and the cause of their arrest—answering their petitions for redress by repeated injury and insult—prescribing in many cases as a condition of their release, test oaths, arbitrary and illegal; in the abridgement of freedom of speech and of the press by imprisoning the citizen for expressing his sentiments, by suppressing newspapers, by military force and establishing a censorship over others, wholly incompatible with freedom of thought and expression of opinion, and the establishment of a system of espionage by a secret police to invade the sacred privacy of unsuspecting citizens; declaring martial law over states not in rebellion, and where the courts are open and unobstructed for the punishment of crime; in declaring the slaves of loyal as well as disloyal citizens in certain states and parts of states free; the attempted enforcement of compensation emancipation; the proposed taxation of the laboring white man to purchase the freedom and secure the elevation of the negro; the transportation of negroes into the State of Illinois in defiance of the repeatedly expressed will of the people; the arrest and imprisonment of the representatives of a free and sovereign State; the dismemberment of the state of Virginia, erecting within her boundaries a new state without the consent of her legislature, are each and all arbitrary and unconstitutional, a usurpation of the legislative functions, a suspension of the judicial departments of the state and federal government, subverting the Constitution—state and federal—invading the reserved rights of the people and the sovereignty of the states, and if sanctioned, destructive of the Union—establishing upon the common ruins of the liberties of the people and the sovereignty of the states a consolidated military despotism.

"And we here solemnly declare that no American citizen can, without the crime of infidelity to his country's constitutions and the allegiance which he bears to each, sanction such usurpations.

"Believing that our silence would be criminal, and may be construed into consent, in deep reverence for our Constitution which has been ruthlessly violated, we do hereby enter our most solemn protest against these usurpations of power, and place the same before the world, intending thereby to warn our public servants against further usurpation; therefore,

"*Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring herein,* That the army was organized, confiding in the declaration of the President in his inaugural address, to wit: 'That he had no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it existed, and that he believed he had no lawful right to do so, and that he had no inclination to do so,' and upon the declaration of the federal congress, to wit: 'That this war is not waged in any spirit of oppression or subjugation or any purpose of overthrowing any of the institutions of any of the states,' and that, inasmuch as the whole policy of the administration since the organization of the army has been at war with the declarations aforesaid, culminating in the Emancipation Proclamation, leaving the facts patent, that the war

has been diverted from its first avowed object to that of subjugation and the abolition of slavery, a fraud both legal and moral has been perpetrated upon the brave sons of Illinois who have so nobly gone forth to battle for the Constitution and the laws. And while we protest against the continuance of this gross fraud upon our citizen soldiers, we thank them for that heroic conduct on the battlefields that sheds imperishable glory on the State of Illinois.

"*Resolved,* That we believe the further prosecution of the present war cannot result in the restoration of the Union and the preservation of the Constitution as our fathers made it, unless the President's Emancipation Proclamation be withdrawn.

"*Resolved,* That while we condemn and denounce the flagrant and monstrous usurpation of the administration and encroachments of abolitionism, we equally condemn and denounce the ruinous heresy of secession as unwarranted by the Constitution and destructive alike of the security and perpetuity of our government and the peace and liberty of our people; and fearing as we do that it is the intention of the present Congress and administration at no distant day to acknowledge the independence of the Southern Confederacy and thereby sever the Union, we hereby solemnly declare that we are unalterably opposed to any such severance of the Union and that we never can consent that the great northwest shall be separated from the southern states comprising the Mississippi Valley. That river shall never water the soil of two nations, but from its source to its confluence with the Gulf shall belong to one great and united people.

"*Resolved,* That peace, fraternal relations and political fellowship should be restored among the states; that the best interests of all and the welfare of mankind require that this should be done in the most speedy and effective manner; that it is to the people we must look for a restoration of the Union and the blessings of peace, and to these ends we should direct our earnest and honest efforts; and hence, we are in favor of the assembling of a national convention of all the states to so adjust our national difficulties that the states may hereafter live together in harmony, each being secured in the rights guaranteed to all of our fathers; and which convention we recommend shall convene at Louisville, Ky., or such other place as shall be determined upon by Congress or the several states at the earliest practical period.

"*Resolved, further,* Therefore, that to attain the objects of the foregoing resolutions, we hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States, the administration at Washington and the executive and legislatures of the several states to take such action as shall secure an armistice in which the rights and safety of the government shall be fully protected for such length of time as will enable the people to meet in convention aforesaid, and we therefore earnestly recommend to our fellow citizens everywhere to observe and keep all their lawful and constitutional obligations, to abstain from all violence and to meet together and reason, each with the other, upon the best mode to attain the great blessings of peace, unity and liberty; and be it further,

"*Resolved,* That to secure the coöperation of the states and the general government, Stephen T. Logan, Samuel S. Marshall, H. K. S. Omel-

veny, William C. Goudy, Anthony Thornton and John D. Caton are hereby appointed commissioners to confer immediately with Congress and the President of the United States, and with the legislatures and executives of the several states and urge the necessity of prompt action to secure said armistice and the election of delegates to and the early assembling of said convention, and to arrange and agree with the general government and the several states upon the time and place of holding said convention; and that they report their action in the premises to the General Assembly of this State.

"Resolved, That the Speaker of the House of Representatives be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions to the President of the United States, to each of our senators and representatives in Congress and to each of the governors and speakers of the House of Representatives of the several states."

These resolutions were simply carrying out the program outlined by the southern statesmen, looking forward to detaching Illinois from the cause of the Unión and annexing it with its fortunes to the south. The resolutions were said to have been drawn up by a member from Cook County, a young lawyer who never obtained more than a third-class position at the bar of his home city; but who for his part in this transaction attained sufficient notoriety to be afterwards appointed to the position of chief justice of the supreme court. At the time of his appointment, he was so poor that it was currently reported that the question of fare from Chicago to Washington was a matter of considerable importance to him. Twenty-two years afterwards, he died, leaving a fortune of a million dollars. When public attention was attracted to this fact, his family published a statement that this wealth was the result of successful real estate investments in Chicago, but, as a matter of fact, only $200,000 of his estate was in real estate. The rest was in securities paying a handsome dividend. Republics are not always ungrateful.

A minority report was prepared, but this was voted down and the above preamble and resolutions were adopted by a vote of fifty-two "yeas" to twenty-eight "nays." They would undoubtedly have passed the Senate at once, but on the 13th of February Senator Rodgers, a democrat, died and left the Senate a tie, so that the General Assembly took a recess until the 2d of June.

When these resolutions were reported, they excited the greatest commotion throughout the State, but the democratic force was so strong in the General Assembly that the opposition was cowed until Senator Isaac Funk of McLean County rose to his feet. He was born in old Virginia, but when a boy had crossed the mountains and sought a new home on the prairies of Illinois. He had been a successful farmer and was known as a man of probity and honor, and now, in his old age, he had been selected by his fellow citizens to represent them in the State Senate. When the original draft of the resolution was published and read in the Senate, his soul boiled within him. Then he made the following speech:

"Mr. Speaker, I can sit in my seat no longer and see such boys' play going on. These men are trifling with the best interests of the country.

They should have ass's ears to set off their heads, or they are secessionists and traitors at heart.

"I say there are traitors and secessionists at heart in this Senate. Their actions prove it; their speeches prove it; their jibes and laughter and cheers here nightly when their speakers get up in this hall and denounce the war and administration prove it.

"I can sit here no longer and not tell these traitors what I think of them, and, while so telling it, I am responsible myself for what I say. I stand upon my own bottom; I am ready to meet any man on this floor in any manner, from a pin's point to the mouth of a cannon, upon this charge against these traitors. (Tremendous applause from the gallery.) I am an old man of sixty-five. I came to Illinois a poor boy. I have made a little something for myself and family. I pay $3,000 a year in taxes. I am willing to pay $6,000—aye, $12,000—(great cheering)—aye, I am willing to pay my whole fortune and then give my life to save my country from these traitors that are seeking to destroy it. (Tremendous cheers and applause.)

"Mr. Speaker, you must please excuse me. I could not sit longer in my seat and calmly listen to these traitors. My heart that feels for my poor country would not let me. My heart that cries out for the lives of our brave volunteers in the field that these traitors at home are destroying by thousands would not let me. My heart that bleeds for the widows and orphans at home would not let me. Yes, these villains and traitors and secessionists in this Senate are killing my neighbors' boys now fighting in the field. I dare to tell this to these traitors to their faces and that I am responsible for what I say to one or all of them. Let them come on right here. I am sixty-five years old, and I have made up my mind to risk my life right here on this floor for my country.

"These men sneered at Colonel Mack a day or two ago. He is a little man; but I am a large man. I am ready to meet any of them in place of Colonel Mack. I am large enough for them and I hold myself ready for them now and at any time. (Cheers.)

"Mr. Speaker, these traitors on this floor should be provided with hempen collars. They deserve them! They deserve them! They deserve hanging, I say! The country would be better off to swing them up. I go for hanging them and I dare to tell them so right here to their traitors' faces. Traitors should be hanged and it would be the salvation of the country to hang them, and for that reason I would rejoice at it. (Tremendous cheering.)

"Mr. Speaker, I beg pardon of the gentlemen in the Senate who are not traitors, but true, loyal men, for what I have said. I only intend it and mean it for secessionists at heart. They are here in this Senate. I see them joke and smirk and grin at a true Union man, but I defy them. I stand here ready for them and dare them to come on. (Great cheering.) What man with a heart of a patriot could stand this treason any longer? I have stood it long enough. I will stand it no more. (Cheers.) I denounce these men and their aiders and abettors as rank traitors and secessionists. Hell itself could not spew out a more traitorous crew than some of the men who disgrace this Legis-

lature, this State and this country. For myself, I protest against and denounce their treasonable acts. I have voted against their measures. I will do so to the end. I will denounce them as long as God gives me breath, and I am ready to meet the traitors themselves here or anywhere and fight them to the death. (Prolonged cheers.)

"I said I paid $3,000 a year taxes. I do not say it to brag of it. It is my duty—yes, Mr. Speaker, my privilege—to do it, but some of the traitors here who are working night and day to get their miserable little bills and claims through the Legislature to take money out of the pockets of the people are talking about high taxes. They are hypocrites as well as traitors. I heard some of them talking about high taxes in this way who do not pay $5.00 in support of the government. I denounce them as hypocrites as well as traitors.

"The reason that they pretend to be afraid of high taxes is they do not want to vote money for the relief of the soldiers. They want also to embarrass the government and stop the war. They want to aid the secessionists to conquer our boys in the field. They care about taxes! They are picayune men, anyway. They pay no taxes at all and never did and never hope to unless they can manage to plunder the government. (Cheers.) This is an excuse of traitors.

"Mr. Speaker, excuse me. I feel for my country in this, her hour of danger. I feel for her from the tips of my toes to the ends of my hair. That is the reason that I speak as I do. I cannot help it. I am bound to tell these men to their teeth what they are and what the people, the true, loyal people, think of them.

"Mr. Speaker, I have said my say. I am no speaker. This is the only speech I have made, and I do not know that it deserves to be called a speech. I could not sit still any longer and see these scoundrels and traitors work out their selfish schemes to destroy the Union. They have my sentiments. Let them one and all make the most of them. I am ready to back up all I say, and, I repeat it, to meet these traitors in any manner they may choose, from a pin's point to the mouth of a cannon."

The speech of Farmer Funk was like a clarion peal. It was widely circulated all over the Union and it brought such confusion into the ranks of the opposition that when they assembled on the 3d of June, they began to quarrel over the question of adjournment. The two houses disagreed and Governor Yates took advantage of a clause of the Constitution and prorogued the whole body until the Saturday next preceding the first Monday in January, 1865. The majority of the members presented to the Supreme Court a question as to the legality of the Governor's action. Sidney Breese was at that time chief justice, and he delivered an opinion in which he said: "Admitting then that the act of the Governor was, in the language of the protest, 'illegal, outrageous and unconstitutional,' both houses having adopted it and dispersed, they thereby put an end to the session, evincing at the time no intention to resume it. This, for all practical purposes, was an adjournment *sine die.*" And thus ended the existence of that General Assembly and the controversy that grew out of it.

This was the last effort of the great conspiracy. The continued success of the troops in the field, the re-election of Lincoln as president foreshadowed the early collapse of the Confederacy, and the dream of a great slave empire faded away like frost under the beams of the morning sun. Slavery was accursed of God, and although, like the evil spirit in the Scriptures, "it rent its victims sore," it finally died and made no sign. But the effort to wrest Illinois from the column of freedom and make it the pinnacle point for the twin relic of barbarism failed as had the fight for polygamy failed twenty years before. And we may rejoice that in those days of fierce struggle, our fathers were as true to the cause as their fathers had been when they pledged "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor."

The slave empire was crushed and the Union saved by the valor of Illinois men. Against the subtlety of Calhoun, the impetuous valor of Jefferson Davis and the ability of Lee were matched the statesmanship of Lincoln, the military genius of Grant and the patriotism of the citizen-soldier, John A. Logan. These three stand like mountain peaks, towering heavenward, the culmination of a vast range. As we recede, the foothills fade away. Chase and Stanton, Blair and Colfax, Welles and Winter Davis and Sumner and Wade and Phillips and a host of those who "loomed large in the public eye" are sinking into shadowy ghosts of the past. But Lincoln, Grant and Logan still abide. Their lofty forms tower like beacons on the distant horizon. The sunlight gilds their crests. The radiance of the dawn and the mellow tints of sunset irradiate the mass, while the shafts of malice, the arrows of envy and detraction lie broken and lost in the mists at their feet.

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS IN THE CIVIL WAR.

Bluford Wilson, Springfield.

In a large way, my field embraces all of Illinois south of the geographical center. For the sake of accuracy it may be said that this center has been determined by survey to be at or near Illiopolis, in Sangamon County. The claim, in behalf of that lovely little village, for the location of the State Capital, at the time of its removal from Vandalia, was based on the fact that it was the exact geographical center of the State; but under federal legislation, dividing the State in 1855 for judicial purposes, the "District of Southern Illinois" has included all that portion of the State, south of the north line of Hancock, McDonough, Fulton, Tazewell, McLean, Ford and Vermilion.

This large territory embraced sixty-nine (69) counties out of the one hundred and two (102) in the State and included an important State judicial division, known as the "Southern Grand Division," which included the counties of Madison, Bond, Fayette, Effingham, Jasper, Crawford and all south to Alexander.

Coming still nearer, to the especial subject of my study, we observe that all the territory south of the old Ohio and Mississippi railroad, from Vincennes to St. Louis, excepting St. Clair County has been for many years, known in politics as "Egypt."

According to the ignorance or intelligence of the parties using the phrase it has been at times a title of contempt or of praise. To those who have given no thought to the subject it is usually an appellation of contempt. Historically, of course, the name came in natural sequence from Cairo, the thriving city, located at the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi. Measured by the facts of which it is my privilege, to treat, it cannot be held to be other than a badge of highest honor. Like that illustrious land, ancient Egypt, from which the name is derived, the home of ancient civilization, of libraries, of learning, of stupendous public works and of historic cities, the scriptural land of Goshen, of corn and wine, the modern Egypt of Illinois may well challenge attention and will stand proud and secure in its most patriotic record, indifferent alike to the tongue of slander or of adverse criticism.

In her letter telling me that she had drafted or detailed me to the duty of this half hour—imposing upon me a burden too heavy for me to bear in a manner equal to the occasion, or adequate to the just historical desert of my beloved native section, the very efficient Secretary of the

State Historical Society, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, eased the burden, somewhat, to my shoulders by telling me that particular attention must be given by me to the "Ohio River Border Counties." My thanks are due for this wise and kindly limitation, otherwise in treating of so large and so rich a field as all Southern Illinois, my sins of omission alone, to say nothing of overt acts in the way of positive mistake, inadequate treatment, or necessary limitation in the language of just panegyric would inevitably have brought upon me such an outcry and weight of adverse criticism and condemnation as would have covered me with shame and my friends with confusion. For in comparison with all that Illinois did in the war for the Union, the leading, dominating, most patriotic and heroic part born by the men of Southern Illinois in that tremendous struggle for the life of the nation, is a subject too large for adequate treatment in the time allotted me. It demands in order that full justice may be done, the graphic pen of a Gibbon or a Motley and the eloquence of a Logan or a Lincoln.

The natural and ultimate limitation of my study for the occasion should be then the territory embraced in the six border counties, Gallatin, Hardin, Pope, Massac, Pulaski and Alexander, to which we must add, as closely allied, both in blood and territory, Johnson, Saline, Williamson, Franklin, Hamilton and White. Even this limited territory is altogether too large for much detail or for aught but the most general treatment.

My old comrades in Egypt, of whom after fifty years, many still survive, must therefore, forgive me in advance for what are bound to be many grievous sins of omission. But having entered upon the work, I make them this promise, which they can take or leave, that if life and strength is spared a little longer, I will in the absence of a better and abler historian, and in a future more elaborate paper, as opportunity may serve, make special study of the whole field from Vermilion on the east, to Hancock on the west and to Alexander on the south and will spare no effort to do justice to all. Fortunately several of my old friends, one in Johnson, one in White and one in Pope, have sent me important material, bearing on the noble part borne by their particular counties, and I extend an invitation to old soldiers in every county to send me for future use such material as they may have in store or in memory. If this material can be compared, compiled and adequately treated with due regard to local environment and individual merit, it goes without saying, that amid the golden archives of the State Historical Society, future generations will find nothing more interesting, nothing more patriotic, nothing more inspiring, nothing more glorious!

Such are the geographical limitations of my duty. To look upon, it is a goodly land, none fairer under the shining sun—a land of vine clad hills, of valleys fragrant with orchard bloom, of forests of stately oak and gum and maple and gloomy cypress—not then as now, a land of ambitious teeming young cities, noisy and busy with the hum of many industries, railroads, telegraph and telephone, but rather of many quaint sleeping villages and smiling plains underlaid with rich store of undreamed, undeveloped mineral wealth. Withal, a land dedicated by its Virginia conquerors and founders to freedom and separated from the

land of slavery and secession by the silver thread of La Belle Riviere, the beautiful Ohio. In shape-a wedge! in the end riving apart the ill-starred confederacy—a shining lance head, thrusting its way deep into the very vitals of slavery and rebellion.

But what of the people, the hospitable, patriotic liberty loving people, descendants of those sturdy pioneers, followers of Clark's forlorn hope! of Tippecanoe! of those who fought with Jackson at New Orleans and who could trace back over a thousand miles of wilderness and stream and mountain, the arduous path, to the old Virginia Roof Tree. Or who could look across the beautiful river and see the smoke ascending from the hearth stones of the "Old Kentucky Home," which perhaps had once sheltered them where their kith and kin still dwelt or where their forebears had fallen on sleep. To the men of the North-land the Civil War presented a stupendous political question, involving the life of the nation, but to the men of Southern Illinois it meant this and far more. It meant the rending of heart strings! the tearing asunder of family ties! brother to brother, face to face—in hostile deadly war-fare!

Virginia was for years in the 17th century, the refuge of those who were in turn, prominent, impoverished, endangered and exiled in the civil wars of Cromwell's time, and who were alternately proscribed for participation therein. According, as Puritan or Cavalier, triumphed at home, in Motherland, so changed the complexion of immigration to the Old Dominion.

The result in the end was a population more diverse, with lines more distinctly drawn between high born, and low, rich and poor, than in any other colony, unless it might be Maryland. But in the end, tried, tested and hammered out in the fires of the Revolutionary War there remained a pure Anglo-Saxon stock—a virile and on the whole, a homogeneous people. It was of them that Henry Adams in his History of the United States says:

"No where in America existed better human material than in the middle and lower classes of Virginia. As explorers, adventurers, fighters, wherever courage, activity and force were wanted, they had no equals; but they had never known discipline and were beyond measure, jealous of restraint. * * *

"Jefferson, with all his liberality of ideas, was Virginian enough to discourage the introduction of manufactures and the gathering of masses in cities, without which no new life could grow. Among the common people, intellectual activity was confined to hereditary common places of politics, resting on the axiom that Virginia was the typical Society of future Arcadian America. To escape the tyranny of Cæsar by perpetuating the simple and isolated lives of their Fathers, was the sum of their political philosophy; to fix upon the National Government the stamp of their own idyllic conservatism was the height of their ambition.

"Debarred from manufactures, possessed of no shipping, and enjoying no domestic market, Virginian energies necessarily knew no other resources than Agriculture. * * *

"The Virginians concentrated their thoughts almost exclusively on politics and this concentration produced a result so distinct and lasting, and in character so respectable that American History would lose no small part of its interest in losing the Virginia School."—Henry Adams, History of the United States, Volume I, page 137.

It was the descendants of these, impoverished by the War of the Revolution that settled and organized Kentucky, Tennessee and all Southern Illinois, as far north and even beyond the limits of McLean County.

The conquerors, founders and makers of Illinois were of this blood and lineage, with all the fighting instincts of their remote Danish and Norman ancestors, still alive and flaming. From the days of George Rogers Clark and his starved and ragged handful of heroic Virginians, on down through the days of Harrison, Old Tippecanoe, to Edwards and Pope, Moore and Wilson, assistants in organizing the territory, to Bond the first Governor of the State, on through Coles, Edwards, Duncan, Carlin, Yates, Oglesby, Palmer, Cullom, Fifer, Tanner, to Yates again, and last but not least, to Deneen, the present Chief Executive of the State, the strain continues unbroken, save by Reynolds and Ford of Pennsylvania, French of New Hampshire, Matteson of New York and Altgeld from the German Father-land. For more than thirty years after Edwards, or until 1841, when "Long John Wentworth" appeared in Congress, from Cook County and Chicago, the State in its relation to the nation was for the most part, Southern Illinois. The great names of Edwards, Bond, Cook and McLean will readily be recalled and are a fine balance against the coming of the inevitable Yankee in later days, in the persons of those great men, whose names are writ large on the pages of the history of Illinois, and the nation—Stephen A. Douglas, "The Little Giant," and Lyman Trumbull.

It is a most interesting fact that the pro-slavery leaders in the great contest of 1824 over the absorbing question as to the nullification of the Ordinance of 1787, dedicating the North-west Territory, the gift of Virginia, to freedom and directly involving the question as to whether the new State of Illinois should be slave or free, were arrayed, on the side of slavery, men like Elias Kent Kane, Judge Theophilus W. Smith, both of New York, and the two Reynolds', John and Thomas of Pennsylvania. Over against them, leaders in behalf of freedom, were that great Virginian, Edward Coles, and that brilliant son of Kentucky, Daniel P. Cook. Back of them were eighteen members of the legislature from slave holding states.

AND FREEDOM WON.

In that later and most tremendous struggle, over the far greater question as to whether the nation could live half slave and half free, it was fated that this stock and strain should again furnish to freedom's cause, its final mighty leader—Abraham Lincoln.

Of course, while Northern Illinois was a wilderness, Southern Illinois was the State. But by 1842, when Thomas Ford of Ogle—like Reynolds a Pennsylvanian, but from his youth a citizen of Illinois, and a pupil of Daniel P. Cook, was elected Governor over Duncan, the men of Northern Illinois began to assert themselves, but be it observed they never had a Senator until they called Douglas from Quincy and later Trumbull from

Belleville and last of all, that gallant and greatest Egyptian, General John A. Logan from Chicago, but late of Jackson, the very heart of Egypt.

It was natural and to be expected in the Black Hawk War and in the war with Mexico—a war of conquest waged in the interests of the South, that Southern Illinois should have taken the contract to do the fighting for the rest of the State, and should have borne the heat and burden of the day. Its Illinois hero, dead on the bloody field of Buena Vista, was Hardin of Morgan—of Kentucky and Virginia ancestry, Colonel of the First Illinois.

The historic names of Warren, Oglesby, Logan, Lawler, Haynie and Hicks appear upon the pages of its history, in training, doubtless, for their subsequent noble careers in the Civil War, as bright and honorable and glorious as any that appear upon its shining pages.

But by 1861, fifteen years later, Northern Illinois had grown by leaps and bounds. The center of population had shifted far northward from Kaskaskia and Vandalia and carried with it the political power of the State. And yet the blood of old Virginia still guided the ship of state and dominated its political fortunes. Richard Yates, the elder and greater, was Governor. Lincoln, the Kentuckian, was President.

Where all have patriotically toiled and suffered and many have bled and died in a great cause, comparisons are, to say the least, unkind if not odious. I do not challenge them. No more do I fear them. And yet, invidious and unfair comparisons have been made between Democratic Southern Illinois, as it surely was then, and Republican Northern Illinois, greatly to the prejudice and cruelly unjust to the former. Except Edwards and St. Clair, Southern Illinois was not Republican and most emphatically was not for Lincoln. "If that be treason, make the most of it."

In the great Presidential contest of 1860, Gallatin, my native county, gave Lincoln 221 votes, Douglas 1,020, Bell 88 and Breckenridge 13. Its total vote—and there were in those momentous days no "stay-at-homes"—was 1,342. Yet it sent to the War for the Union 1,361 as good soldiers as ever shouldered a musket. It furnished, in addition, five colonels for as many full-blooded Egyptian Regiments, the 18th Lawler, 29th Reardon, 54th Harris, 56th Kirkham and 120th McKeiag. Michael Kelly Lawler, its indomitable hard-fighting brigadier general and James Harrison Wilson, its rough-riding major general, who, in his 27th year, in the last months of the war, was at the head of the largest and mightiest cavalry force ever organized under one command in the Western hemisphere and one of the largest in the history of any war. After defeating Forrest at Franklin and turning Hood's flank at Nashville, it rode again rough-shod over Forrest, the greatest cavalry leader of the South, over the strongly fortified city of Selma—the Foundry City of the Confederacy—into and through Montgomery, its first Capital—battered down or charged over the fortifications of West Point, and Columbus, Georgia—burned rebel iron clads, destroyed the last resources of the Confederacy, rode down Howell Cobb, crushed the last hope of the rebellion and put an end to all danger of dreaded

guerilla war-fare by the capture of Jefferson Davis himself. It was Grant who wrote to Sherman: "I send you Wilson to command your cavalry. He will add 50 per cent to its efficiency." Can you imagine higher praise? It was Sherman who said to Joe Johnson, who had just surrendered: "Wilson's blood is up and he will be hard to hold."

And may I say in this presence, as to old comrades and friends, it was Wilson's Virginia blood—the blood of the fighting Gordons and the Harrisons.

The little county of Hardin gave Lincoln only 107 votes, Douglas 499, Bell 62—in all 668 votes. It sent 569 fighting men to the war and furnished two sturdy colonels, one of whom Lucian Greathouse of the 48th has written opposite his name on Fame's immortal roll: "Killed in Action, July 22, 1863."

Pope gave Lincoln 127 votes, Douglas 1,202, Bell, 83, Breckenridge 1. In all, 1,413 votes. It gave to the cause of the Union 1,253 good men and true, two colonels and one gallant brigadier general (Raum).

Massac gave Lincoln 121 votes, Douglas 873, Bell 84—in all 1,078. It furnished 880 soldiers tried and true!

Pulaski, Lincoln 220 votes, Douglas 550, Bell 45, Breckenridge 40; total, 855; and furnished 643 brave soldiers.

Alexander, Lincoln 106 votes, Douglas 684, Bell 178, Breckenridge 79; total, 1,047 and 1,358 soldiers. It rounded out its fine record by furnishing a most useful and efficient brigadier general (Haynie).

Johnson County gave Lincoln but 40 votes against 1,563 for Douglas, but it furnished 1,426 trusty soldiers. My correspondent states the figures somewhat differently, but I give them as they appear in history and fully agree with my comrade's conclusion that it was indeed "a fair showing down here, where Northern Illinois people thought we were all disloyal."

Jackson County gave Lincoln only 315 votes against 1,556 for Douglas. But it gave to the Union 1,422 fighting men AND LOGAN.

Saline gave Lincoln 100 votes, Douglas 1,338 and sent forth 1,280 sturdy men of war.

White, doing better for Lincoln than any other border county, gave him 756 votes against 1,549 for Douglas. According to my correspondent, the county sent 2,250 of her gallant young men to the war. According to history, 1,984. Either set of figures are enough to quicken the pulse of patriotism and to silence the tongue of slander. The names of Orlando Burrell, Crebs, Whiting, Graham, and Trafton, her hard-fighting rough-riding leaders, are an inspiration to her youth in all future generations. Her volunteers appear in thirty-five regiments from the 8th to the 148th Infantry and from the 5th to the 14th Cavalry.

There was not a county in all Egypt giving a large majority of its votes to Douglas—hardly one in all Southern Illinois in its largest limit, that did not do equally or nearly as well. And yet men of intelligence who ought to know better, and for whom, with the records of the Adjutant General's office open to them, ignorance is no excuse, have written and spoken of Southern Illinois as "a section of the State which furnished thousands of soldiers to the Confederate Army." The lie

or slanderous misrepresentation often repeated, though probably not willfully or intentionally, is no less false than it is unjust and cruel. The only troops that went South into the rebel army from all Egypt, were a mere handful of boys, not a half company, seduced by a certain swashbuckler captain from Maryland. Some of them were spared to repent in sack-cloth and ashes and after awhile, finding their way home, made amends by serving gallantly on the Union side. The two counties (Williamson and Franklin) from which these men went or are alleged to have gone, sent more than 3,000 soldiers to fight the battles of freedom and the Union.

It is high praise and to the eternal credit of Edwards and St. Clair, the only two Republican Counties in Egypt, to say that they did better than the average Northern County and as well but no better than Williamson and Franklin.

Finally there were 3,538 DRAFTED MEN from Illinois and yet not ONE from Egypt. Every call and the whole quota under each was promptly filled by enthusiastic volunteers.

After Douglas' most eloquent and weighty declarations in April, 1861, here in this City and later at Chicago, in favor of the Union, and which proved to be at once, his dying words and decisive of the ultimate issue of the War, there were no longer any adverse weighty influences against enlistment either in Southern Illinois or elsewhere in the North. Nor were his splendid speeches more needed in Egypt than in other parts of Illinois, notably the central portion and generally throughout the whole North-land.

Both Leader and people have suffered alike from partisan phrase maker and the over-zealous historian. I borrow from the "Unpublished Memoirs"* of my distinguished brother, General James Harrison Wilson, the thoughts about Douglas that follow:

It has always appeared to me that the biographers of Mr. Lincoln, Nicolay and John Hay, went out of their way often to slur and belittle Douglas in order, apparently, to exalt their great Chief. In fact this only served to depreciate Mr. Lincoln. "Arts of the demagogue," "vicious methods," "quibbling," "success above principle," "plausible but delusive" are among the odious and unkind phrases applied by them in the course of their review of the points of contact between these two really great men. It is true they are not always unkind.. Indeed, they concede Mr. Douglas' great ability and at times laud him highly, but always with the effect to leave the impression that he was actuated by motives less lofty and that he moved on a distinctly lower moral plane than Mr. Lincoln. They seem to have forgotten that in all the arts of the mere politician their wily Chief had served a full apprenticeship at the trade and could easily and did give Mr. Douglas large odds and beat him at the game. They pass by, at the end, the great and inestimable service rendered by Douglas to the cause of the Union in his last days with slight or inadequate mention and could find no place for quotation from his two masterly and decisive speeches following his last personal conference with Mr. Lincoln in Washington April 14, 1861.

* Since published by Appleton: "Under the Old Flag."

It is hardly too much to say of these speeches that they were decisive of the success of the North in the impending conflict and that they were incomparably the greatest individual service rendered to the country by any public man, not even excepting Mr. Lincoln, in the crucial days following the attack on Fort Sumpter. In their far reaching results they have rarely been equaled and never surpassed by any forensic effort ancient or modern.

At Springfield, April 25, 1861, before a joint session of the two houses of the Legislature, over which the present venerable, then the young and rising Shelby M. Cullom presided ,Mr. Douglas, in the very greatest speech of his life, aroused his great audience to a frenzy of patriotic enthusiasm when at the height of his eloquent appeal for the Union he said:

"When hostile armies are marching under new and odious banners against the government of our Country, the shortest way to peace is the most stupendous and unanimous preparation for war."

Of this speech Senator Cullom, a most competent judge, has since said: "Never, in all my experience in public life, before or since, have I been so impressed by a speaker." Another says: "His eloquence, his earnestness and power were such as to fairly transfigure him," while men and women were carried off their feet in an hysterical wave of patriotism. Later in Chicago in June, a few days before his death, in the last effort of his life, arousing the wildest enthusiasm of a vast audience and throughout the whole North, he said:

"There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war—ONLY PATRIOTS and TRAITORS."[1]

Of this Horace White says:[2] "That speech hushed the breath of treason in every corner of the State." And he might have added, it swept away for the time, party lines, unified the whole North, and brought to the unwavering support of Mr. Lincoln and the Union cause the million and nearly four hundred thousand devoted, enthusiastic and loyal friends and followers of one who had fairly earned thereby the right to be acclaimed: "The Little Giant." His was truly one of the mightiest and most potential minds in all the galaxy of American statesmen. A month afterwards he was in his grave. He was only forty-eight years old.

Since the above was written the attention of the venerable William Jayne of Springfield, Illinois, has been called to the subject. He was Mr. Lincoln's special friend—present at his wedding, and was appointed by him Governor of Dakota, and has always been a staunch Republican. He is one of the few surviving old friends of Mr. Lincoln, hale and hearty at eighty-four years of age. He did not hesitate to tell me, when interviewed: "I heard that speech in the State House April 25, 1861. There would have been war in Illinois but for Douglas. Justice has never been done to his memory. He was a great man and a true patriot."

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[1] Chicago Wigwam speech, New York Tribune, June 13, 1861.
[2] Life of Lincoln, Herndon & Weik, Vol. II, pp. 126-7.

In this strong statement and tribute to the just fame of Mr. Douglas another surviving intimate and trusted friend of Mr. Lincoln fully concurs. I refer to our distinguished, widely known, most estimable and highly respected fellow citizen John W. Bunn, Esq., Vice President Lincoln Centennial Association.*

As further proof of the most resolute and unhesitating patriotism of my native section, I appeal to the fact of record, that General Michael Kelly Lawler's splendid regiment, the 18th Illinois, was raised, wholly in Egypt, was enlisted and mustered in May, 1861, before Turchin's 19th, the first Chicago regiment.

Lawler was a Catholic Irishman, a Mexican war veteran, and a Democrat to the backbone, but he never hesitated a minute after Sumpter. Nor did any other of the thousand noble men of southern blood, that were mustered in with him. And no regiment fought harder or rendered prompter or better service. At Donnelson, where he was wounded, it held fast and firm the gate through which the rebels sought to escape. For his gallant service, Lawler was made Brigadier General and afterwards highly distinguished himself and won the lasting good will of General Grant and his country by his smashing victory over the rebels at Big Black and by his fine behaviour in pressing the siege and capture of Vicksburg. He was born in County Kildare, Ireland, Nov. 16, 1814, and died at his home in Gallatin County July 27, 1882. He came to Gallatin, with his parents, when about five years old.

It was of this quaint, but fine old soldier that General Grant, during the Chattanooga Campaign, said to those sitting with him around the camp fire discussing, among other matters, the several Illinois generals, of whom he was one and all of whom he knew:

"When it comes to just plain hard fighting, I would rather trust Old Mike Lawler than any of them."

Lawler, although a very heavy man, almost Falstaffian in girth, was a strictly temperate man, a devout Catholic, and as imperturbable under fire as any Paladin. When asked to take a drink—not at all an unusual occurrence in the army, his invariable reply was: "No! Thank you, I have a brother, I am sorry to say, who drinks enough for both of us." Which was unhappily true.

To a profane member of his staff, during one of the fighting days at Vicksburg, who was loudly violating the Third Commandment, the general said: "I am astonished to hear you praying at this time. I always say my prayers before going into battle." Which was also true.

To his adjutant general, then a youth, undergoing his baptism of fire, in his first battle at Champion Hills, and who knew no better than to dodge the singing minnies, he said, quietly but firmly: "You dam little fool! Don't dodge! Don't you know when you hear the bullets they have already passed." It cured the captain of the habit, for Lawler himself always "stood four square" to all the breezes that blew. The stiffer the gale the straighter he stood.

* See also "Life of Stephen A. Douglas" by Hon. Clark E. Carr, formerly Minister to Denmark and now President of the Illinois State Historical Society.

In passing to the front one morning riding by a column of another command on the march a soldier was overheard to say to another: Bill! who is that old tub of guts? I'd hate to be in his place. He won't last a minute under fire." Lawler instantly said to the member of his staff riding next to him: "Huh! dam fool! I could lose two or three beefsteaks off my anatomy and not be hurt!"—A fact, which he had demonstrated at Donnelson, when he was badly wounded but did not leave the field till there was no longer need for his presence.

It is due to Lawler's memory that it should be said, as it can now confidently be said on the authority of the Confederate General, Stephen D. Lee, who commanded in Lawler's front at Vicksburg, that there was only one point on the whole defensive line where our forces, in the general assault of May 22, 1863, succeeded in breaking through. This was entirely due to Lawler's soldierly provision in ordering his colonels to quietly arouse their men before daylight, which was done, and to move them up stealthily, under cover of darkness and to lodge them in the brush, on the side of the hill, under the salient or bastion and within fifty yards of it where they lay, unobserved, until the hour of the general assault, 10:00 a. m. arrived. To that end the ground, a deep valley separating, by about four hundred yards, the ridge, which his brigade occupied, from that on which the enemy's works were planted was carefully examined the evening before by himself and one or two of his regimental commanders and members of his staff.

May not Egypt fairly claim that the names of Logan and Wilson and Lawler shall be written with Grants whose trusted lieutenants they were, high among the highest on the immortal roll of Civil War heroes. Its history I dare say does not disclose the names of any three men who, according to their opportunities, did more or harder or better fighting.

Far more than all I have here said might be fairly said alone of that glorious fighter John Alexander Logan. Others have already said it and said it better and time forbids. His fame is secure and written large. He was never accused but once of being slow and that was in stripping himself of the trammel of party affiliation and due doubtless to his official obligations as Member of Congress and to his southern blood and heritage. The 7th, 8th, 11th, 12th, 14th, 18th, 21st, 22d, 29th, 30th and 40th regiments may have beaten him to arms and some of them to the field, but he was up and coming with the noble 31st and being in, he easily took the lead and ever afterwards with all his tremendous energy led the way to victory and undying fame—the most striking, the most successful general from civil life. But he was a born soldier and it was in the blood.

In conclusion:

Of the first six regiments called in April, 1861, for three months' service, four of them, the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th were from Southern Illinois, while of the 11th, Wallace, seven companies, A. B. D. F. H. I and K were from northern counties, and three, C, E and G from Central and Southern Illinois counties. Of the 12th, McArthur, six companies were from the north and four C, E, G and H were from the heart of Egypt.

Of the ten regiments called in May, the 14th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 21st and 22nd were from central and southern counties, while four, the 13th, 15th, 19th and 20th were from the northern counties.

Of all the three year regiments of which there were 124, there were 63 from Southern Illinois, 18 from the State at large, 43 from Northern Illinois.

Of the fourteen major generals from Illinois, Grant, Schofield, Palmer, Pope, McClernand, Logan, Rawlins, Wilson, Merritt, Oglesby, Hurlbut, Prentice, Grierson and Giles A. Smith, all but three of them, Grant, Schofield and Hurlbut were from Central and Southern Illinois and everyone of them except Grant, Schofield and Merritt were of southern blood and lineage.

Wallace, who died so gallantly, at Shiloh, was the son of a Virginia father and mother.

Prentice, who so indomitably held the rebels until late on Shiloh's first great day, killing their great leader Albert Sydney Johnston and giving time for the arrival of Buell, was born in Virginia. McClernand, who at Shiloh fought his division to a frazzle, was a Kentuckian. As were those well beloved, stalwart heroes Oglesby and Palmer.

The fighting Logan was of full Virginia-Kentucky blood.

Wilson's father was born in Virginia and his grandparents on both sides were Virginians to the manor born. He alone of his great contemporaries is alive today. But he was the youngest of them all.

And Rawlins—Grant's great chief of staff, one of the mighty names everyone of them except Grant, Schofield and Merritt were of southern that cannot die, though born in Northern Illinois, was Virginian on both sides, coming into Illinois through Kentucky and Missouri.

Even Grant had to turn to Southern Illinois to the very borders of Egypt to find his first command, and Grant, Schofield and Merritt were alone—of the illustrious fourteen—men of northern lineage.

Merritt, one of the greatest cavalry leaders, of the war, although born in New York, was by adoption, from his youth, one of Egypt's noblest sons whence he was appointed in the same class with Wilson to West Point.

Hurlbut was a native of South Carolina.

Such is the golden record, the most glorious and remarkable immortal record, which Egypt and Southern Illinois out of her rich southern strain and heritage tenders to the ignorant, careless or partisan critic. Match it! Match it if you can!

PART IV.

Contributions to State History.

GOVERNOR THOMAS FORD IN OGLE COUNTY.

By Mrs. Rebecca H. Kauffman, Oregon, Ill.

The finest of all tributes to the pioneer comes from President Theodore Roosevelt in an address made by him when he was Vice President, at the Minnesota State Fair, Minneapolis, Sept. 2, 1901. It is as follows:

"In his admirable series of studies of twentieth century problems, Dr. Lyman Abbott has pointed out that we are a nation of pioneers; that the first colonists to our shores were pioneers, and that pioneers selected out from among the descendants of these early pioneers, mingled with others selected afresh from the Old World, pushed westward into the wilderness, and laid the foundations for our new commonwealths. They were men of hope and expectation, of enterprise and energy; for the men of dull content, or more, dull despair, had no part in the great movement into and across the New World. Our country has been populated by pioneers, and therefore it has in it more energy, more enterprise, more expansive power, than any other in the wide world."

The facts pertaining to the life of Governor Ford in Ogle County I have gathered from every possible source within my reach; and I have endeavored to embody in this sketch an account of every connection of importance with Ogle County of the one resident, so far, of this region who has attained the honor of filling the office of the highest position of trust, within the gift of the people, of the State of Illinois. We can appropriately say, quoting from the immortal address of the greatest of all Illinoisans, "It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this,"—"fitting and proper" that we remember and honor a man who helped to settle this county, who worked to establish law and order, and to carry out strict principles of integrity and justice; and who left behind him at his too early death the record of a career highminded, pure, sensible, capable.

It may be interesting to those present to have enumerated the sources of the information which I have gathered in this paper. They are, first of all, "Ford's History of Illinois," published by S. C. Griggs & Co., the edition of 1854, in which is written, in pencil, the name "R. R. Hitt," the volume having been owned by Mr. Hitt's parents; the "Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois," prepared by Dr. Newton Bateman, so well known to the people of Illinois, and Paul Selby, A.M.; "Kett's History of Ogle County, 1878;" the "Portrait and Biographical Album of Ogle County," published by Chapman Brothers, 1886; "Mount Morris, Past and Present," published by Kable Brothers,

1900; the "Souvenir Edition of the *Mount Morris Index*," 1905, in which is a picture of the "Ford Cabin;" a paper on "The Criminal History of Ogle County," read by Attorney Franc Bacon, in 1905, in the series of Local History Lectures given by the Oregon Woman's Council; and conversations with Mr. Benjamin Fridley, who was four years of age when his father purchased the claim on which Judge Ford had built what is now known as the "Ford Cabin;" with Mr. Wilson S. Glasgow, who now owns the land on which this cabin stands; and with Mr. Michael Seyster, of Oregon. Some of the books consulted were obtained from Major Charles Newcomer just two days prior to his death.

I am pleased to record that the place of nativity of Governor Ford was in my own "Keystone State," and not far from the much-loved waters of the picturesque Susquehanna of my former home. Thomas Ford (Judge and Governor) was born in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, in the year 1800, his life beginning with the century and continuing just half way through. His mother, after the death of her first husband (Mr. Forquer), married Robert Ford, who was killed in 1802 by the Indians in the mountains of Pennsylvania. She was left alone to support herself and a large family, mostly girls. With a view to improve her circumstances she removed to Missouri in 1804; and, later, from there into Monroe County, Illinois, not far from Waterloo, and afterwards from there nearer to the Mississippi bluffs, where Thomas Ford grew up. His education was received in the common schools of those pioneer times. It is said that he early showed much mental ability, with particularly an inclination for mathematics. His proficiency attracted the attention of the Hon. Daniel P. Cook, a prominent Illinois statesman of that time, and for whom Cook County was named. Through the advice of Mr. Cook the young man turned his attention to the study of law. With the aid of his half-brother, George Forquer, he attended one term at Transylvania University, Kentucky, now the State University of that State, teaching school to help support himself while pursuing his law studies. He soon became a successful lawyer, and early in life entered the field of politics.

In 1829 Governor Edwards appointed him prosecuting attorney; in 1831 he was re-appointed. After that he was four times elected a judge by the Legislature, without opposition, twice a circuit judge, once a judge in Chicago, and an associate judge of the Supreme Court, when in 1841 the State Supreme Court was re-organized by the addition of five judges, all Democrats. The Act creating the circuits legislated the circuit judges out of office and assigned the supreme judge and eight associates to circuit duties. Judge Ford was assigned to the Ninth Judicial District, which included Ogle County and extended down as far as, and including, McLean County. It was while holding court at Oregon, in Ogle County, in this capacity that he received notice of his nomination by the Democratic Convention for the office of Governor.[1]

[1] The candidate for Governor, Adam W. Snyder, nominated by the Democratic State Convention at Springfield, Dec. 5, 1841, died on May 14, 1842. Thos. Ford was selected to fill the vacancy by a meeting of the principal Democrats, held at Springfield, June 7, 1842.

He immediately resigned his office of judge and entered upon the canvass. In August, 1842, he was elected, and on the 8th of December following he was inaugurated at Springfield.

The twelfth section of the Act of January, 1836, establishing Ogle County, constituted it a part of the Sixth Judicial Circuit, and provided for the terms of the circuit court to be held at such places as the county commissioners should designate, and that the circuit judge of the Sixth Judicial Circuit should have the power to fix the time for holding such court as, in his discretion, would promote the public good. Judge Ford presided over this court from January 17, 1839, and until becoming associate judge of the State Supreme Court. The first term of the circuit court commenced October 2, 1837, at Dixon, then in Ogle County, Lee County not yet having been formed, the Hon. Daniel Stone presiding. The records show that Benjamin T. Phelps presented his commission as clerk signed by Judge Thomas Ford, judge of the Sixth Judicial District, before whom he had taken the oath of office, and that Judge Ford became bondsman for Mr. Phelps in the sum of $2,000.

To Judge Ford belongs the credit of naming the county of Ogle. The name was suggested by him and was intended to perpetuate the memory of Captain Joseph Ogle, who had settled in Monroe County, and whose coolness, courage and daring were so conspicuous in the long and bloody conflict attending the siege of Fort Henry, during the early days of our country's history. And it was through the earnest solicitations of Judge Ford that William W. Fuller came from Massachusetts in 1839 to settle in Ogle County and to practice law in Oregon—Margaret Fuller, who was a relative, later visiting him here in the Rock River Valley.

At a special session, Nov. 8, 1838, of the newly-elected members of the County Commissioners Board of Ogle County, Judge Ford was "appointed a commissioner to sell lots for the county of Ogle, situate on the quarter section on which the county seat was located by Charles Reed and J. L. Kirkpatrick, being the southeast quarter of section four, township twenty-three north, range ten, east of the fourth principal meridian, at public vendue, in Oregon City, on the first Monday in December next." Some other provisions and directions were added to this order of his appointment as county agent to sell lots. The proceeds of these lots were intended to apply on the erection of public buildings for the county, as provided in the Act of Congress of May 24, 1824. This duty as commissioner was held by Judge Ford till June, 1840. Though so closely interested in the erection of the county buildings, Judge Ford did not have the satisfaction of holding court in one of the buildings planned for. The court house was not entirely completed, but it was intended to be used for the spring term of the circuit court, set for Monday, March 22, 1841. The outlaws, however, willed it otherwise, and during the night before the court was to convene they set fire to the building and burned it to the ground. Until the next court house was built in 1843, the sittings of the courts took place in whatever building could be had that was large enough for the purpose. Sometimes in a house belonging to Mr. William Sanderson, but generally in a log house belonging to Mr. John Phelps, who was so largely interested in the

settlement of Oregon and vicinity. After the 30th day of August, 1838, the records show that it had been "ordered" that "the circuit courts of Ogle County shall hereafter be held at the house of John Phelps, in Oregon City, in said county, until public buildings shall be erected." As a result of this positive order, every one knew where to find the county commissioners in session, the circuit courts, the county and circuit clerks and other county officials. This house of John Phelps was situated in Oregon, on Third st., near Monroe, not far below, to the south, of the old Catholic Stone Church. On Nov. 1, 1843, D. H. L. Moss, who succeeded Judge Ford as commissioner to sell lots in Oregon, gave a deed from Ogle County to Thomas Ford, for lot 12, block 26, consideration $21.00. In this deed it recited the fact of the changing, by Act of Legislature, of the name of the place from Florence, its first name, to its present name of Oregon. This lot is on the corner diagonally opposite the old Catholic Stone Church, and is the lot now occupied by the brick dwelling of Mr. Stanley Jones, and in the neighborhood of the John Phelps house where court was held. Judge Ford's home was on this corner lot. A little to the north of this, a street running east and west from Rock River is named Ford street in his honor.

It was in the September term of the circuit court, in 1841, before Judge Ford, that the trial occurred of the largest body of men ever presented under one indictment in this county. This was the trial of Jonathan W. Jenkins and 111 other men for the killing of the prairie outlaws, John and William Driscoll. In his charge to the jury Judge Ford gave it as his opinion that it would be impossible for 111 men to kill one man, and, therefore, the guilt of the men charged was not proven. Without leaving their seats the jury returned a verdict of "not guilty." It is said of Judge Ford that he publicly from the bench admonished the banditti that he was about to leave his home, and, that, if they dared to disturb his family or property, he would gather a posse and take summary measures against them. It is also said of him that during the time when so many guilty men were escaping by verdicts of acquittal, a lawyer defending a client on a criminal charge was speaking of the policy of the law that it was better that ninety and nine guilty men escape than that one innocent one be convicted, when Judge Ford interrupted him, saying, "That is the maxim of the law, but the trouble here is that the ninety-nine guilty have already escaped." I have myself heard it stated that when asked for advice as to what to do in case the Driscolls were captured, he replied that if they were brought to court for trial, they would be acquitted as usual.

Mr. Michael Seyster, who came with his parents to Oregon from Washington County, Maryland, in May, 1838, and who was then about thirteen years of age remembers Judge Ford very well. He has seen him preside in court and heard him make a speech. He describes Judge Ford as, in stature, "a little man," and says that he was "a good citizen and a fine man." Mr. Seyster had seen the Driscolls shot, and was one of the 112 men indicted for trial therefor. Of course he well remembers Judge Ford, as it was he who presided at this trial.

It may be of interest to give from the records a copy of one of the cases tried by Judge Ford, in the June term, 1839—which shows the

legal phraseology and method of procedure much the same as at the present time. The record reads as follows:

"David Martin
v.
Thomas Medford,
Appeal.

Said plaintiff was three times solemnly called in open court and came not, nor any one for him. It is therefore ordered by the court that the suit be dismissed for want of prosecution, and judgment below reversed without prejudice to rights of parties."

This Thomas Medford was the Englishman who lived along Rock River, north of the mouth of Mud Creek, where is now the summer home of Dr. A. W. Hoyt, and who was said to have been a captain and one of the guard of Napoleon when imprisoned on the island of St. Helena.[2]

Governor Ford retired from public life at the expiration of his term of office in 1846, and died at Peoria Nov. 3, 1850, in greatly reduced circumstances. These intervening years he spent in writing his History of Illinois. On his death-bed he left with Gen. James Shields the manuscript of this work to be published by him for the benefit of his destitute orphan children. In this history he makes the following reference to Rock River Seminary:

"The Methodists established a flourishing seminary at Mount Morris, in the county of Ogle. * * * Opportunities for education in the higher branches were good for all who were able and willing to profit by them."

The log cabin on the claim of Judge Ford in Rockvale Township, three miles east and a little to the south of Mount Morris, must have been built by him in 1836, as the grant to John Fridley, who purchased the claim from Judge Ford in 1837, was made out five years later than that year, being from the United States to John Fridley, June 24, 1841. Mr. Fridley paid Judge Ford $1,000.00 for 1,000 acres; and, later, when he proved up the claim he paid to the government the additional, and usual, $1.25 per acre. Mr. Fridley, who was from Washington County, Maryland, after making the purchase from Judge Ford went back to his home, returning Aug. 15, 1838, with his family to occupy the cabin. This cabin meanwhile had been vacant, and the first-comers of the Maryland colony, as it came to be called, found a habitation in it while their own cabins were being hastily erected. Among those who found a temporary abiding place within its shelter were Henry and John Wagner and Captain Swingley, with their families. The parents of Mr. Michael Seyster, with their household, ten in all, lived in this Ford cabin for about a month, soon after their arrival in Ogle County. The table used by them in it, was hinged to the wall, with two legs also hinged to it, which could be folded back, and the whole table dropped against the wall out of the way. At this time the loft was reached at night by climbing up pegs set in the wall. Mr. Fridley's family used a movable ladder and a trap door, the ladder being set out of doors in daytime to

[2] NOTE—It is said, too, that a willow stick brought by him from this island, was planted on the place between the house and barn, and grew into a tree which stood there for many years. Other cases of a similar vitality of the willow are of authentic record. Thomas Medford and his wife lie buried on this farm. Their son, after their death, removed from this region.

make more room inside. The cabin was 18 feet by 19 feet in size. Mr. Fridley found the cabin to be roughly built, and set about "trimming it up," sawing off the logs jutting out unevenly at the corners and "chinking up" more thoroughly the cracks between the logs. The chimney had been made out of split sticks laid up one above the other in "mud-clay," and then thickly plastered, or daubed over with the wet clay. Of course, the fire-place was in the "living-room," just as it is in the expensive houses of today, and the housewifely matron burned her fingers and apron with the "Dutch oven," much as the up-to-date college girl does with her chafing-dish nowadays. Originally the cabin stood a little farther up the hill to the north of its present location, west of the garden, with the door to the east. In it Mr. Fridley's sons, Benjamin, Andrew, David, Jacob and John—passed their boyhood till the larger house was constructed. It was then used as a workshop till it was removed to where it now stands at the foot of the hill with a spring of water running through the cellar-story, added for its use as a butcher-shop. In it the hogs were killed, then allowed to freeze. Afterwards they were taken to market, as far even as Chicago and Peru. Now this cabin door has an old-fashioned sliding wooden bolt with peg outside; but of course, in the "early days," it had the hospitable latchstring.

It was while being shown through this Ford cabin by Mr. Glasgow in June last, that the thought occurred to me of bringing the matter of preserving permanently this historic landmark, before the attention of this Old Settlers' Reunion. Why not today authorize the officers of this meeting to confer with the present owner and arrange for its preservation? Many interesting relics of pioneer days could be accumulated and this Ford cabin could be made the repository for them. What a fine store-house indeed, of pioneer times could be made out of this Ford cabin, filled with the utensils and implements of those arduous times. "Opportunity," reminds John J. Ingalls, "knocks but once."

This paper on "Governor Ford in Ogle County" was prepared by the writer for the Old Settlers' Reunion, held at Mount Morris, Aug. 29, 1907, and read there upon that occasion by her. Since that time, in gathering material for the History of Ogle County, further interesting and valuable matter in connection with this subject has been obtained, which is herewith added, by the writer:

In "Peck's New Gazetteer of Illinois," published by Grigg & Elliott, Philadelphia, 1837, is this brief note: "Cir. Ct. at Dixon, Oct. 1837, Hon. Daniel Stone, Judge presiding, Thomas Ford, Prosecuting Attorney."

From Reynold's "History of Illinois, My Own Times," published 1854-1855, republished by the Chicago Historical Society, 1879, is taken the following estimate made by one Governor of Illinois of the qualities which were found to distinguish another who occupied likewise the same high, responsible position:

"Governor Ford possessed many of the high and noble traits of character that constitute an eminent man. He was gifted with a strong and investigating intellect, and also a firm, open candidness of character that was admired by all. His mind was original and self-sustaining. * * *

He possessed a nice sense of honor, bordering on the chivalric notions of olden times. His notions of probity and integrity were refined and well-defined. With these notions, speculation, talented financiering, was foreign to him; he never cared for wealth more than a support, and scarcely that much. The mind and character of Governor Ford qualified him for a judge better than for any other station. He was frank, open and firm on the bench, and at the same time learned and competent in the exposition of the law. He was a good and sound lawyer, but not the advocate some others were at the bar."

From the "History of Ogle County, Illinois," 1859, by Henry R. Boss, is taken the following written by him for the "Polo Advertiser," Polo, Illinois, of which paper he was the editor from 1858 to 1861:

"The first newspaper in Ogle Co., the 'Rock River Register,' was issued by Jonathan Knodle, in Mt. Morris, Jan. 1, 1842." * * *

"On the 10th of July, the 'Register' abandoned its neutral position and hoisted the Whig flag, headed with the name of Joseph Duncan for Governor, in opposition to Thomas Ford, the Democratic candidate, and denounced Judge Ford as 'a Northern man with southern principles,' inasmuch as he was opposed to removing the northern boundary of Illinois."

A note taken from another writer shows the esteem in which the historical work, to which its author devoted his remaining years and strength, in transcribing the stirring scenes and occurrences with which he had been connected, was held by a well-known Englishman: "When John Walters, M. P., proprietor of the 'London Times,' visited Chicago, he asked Mr. John B. Drake, of the Grand Pacific Hotel, to procure him a copy of Ford's History, pronouncing it a remarkable work, and stating that he thought of having it reprinted in London."

The following paragraphs form the close of the "History of Illinois," by Governor Ford, and it is truly pathetic to know that the end of a life devoted so ably and unflinchingly to the service and welfare of the State, should be saddened by thoughts of the lack of appreciation by the people of his time. Fame often crowns the victor too late for personal triumph:

"The people abroad have once more begun to seek this goodly land for their future homes. From 1843 to 1846, our population rapidly increased; and is now increasing faster than it ever did before. Our own people have become contented and happy; and the former discredit resting upon them abroad for supposed wilful delinquency in paying the State debt, no longer exists.

"It is a just pride and a high satisfaction for the author to feel and know that he has been somewhat instrumental in producing these gratifying results. In this history he has detailed all the measures of the Legislature which produced them; and if these measures did not all originate with him, he can rightfully and justly claim that he supported them with all his power and influence, and has faithfully endeavored to carry them out with the best ability he could command. For so doing, he has had to encounter bitter opposition to his administration; and enmities have sprung up personally against himself which he hopes will

not last forever. For although he wants no office, yet he is possessed of such sensibility, that it is painful to him to be the subject of unmerited obloquy; and for this reason, and this alone, he hopes that when those of his fellow-citizens who disapproved of his administration in these particulars, have time to look into the merits of these measures, and see how they have lifted the State from the lowest abyss of despair and gloom to a commanding and honorable position among her sisters of the Union, they will not remember their wrath forever."

This volume so highly regarded at the present time, and so difficult to obtain, was the sole legacy of Governor Ford to his orphan children—the death of his wife having occurred shortly previous to his own. One of the daily newspapers of Chicago, in the autumn of 1907, contained an account of the illness, and consequent need, of the only surviving child of Governor Ford, a widowed daughter, who had married a captain of the Mexican War while her father was still in office. The "Methodist minister of Middletown" (Illinois), referred to in the newspaper account as a kind friend of this daughter, Rev. T. Lee Knotts, being written to by the author of this paper, replied as follows:

"Mrs. Anna Davies is comfortably located in the Deaconess Hospital, at Lincoln, Illinois. Mrs. Henry Gambrel, deceased, of this place was a daughter of Mrs. Davies and took care of her mother through many years. At the death of Mrs. Gambrel, Mrs. Davies took charge of the household, caring for the children so far as she was able. Mr. Gambrel is an industrious, hard-working man, and supported the family. Mrs. Davies was well-cared for in his home until she was taken down with pneumonia and, it being difficult to secure a nurse for her, she was taken to the Deaconess Hospital, where she is now permanently located."

After living some little time in the Deaconess home, Mrs. Davies journeyed on to her long and final home March 17, 1910.

Immediately following the reading of the paper on "Governor Ford in Ogle County," and the suggestion by the writer in regard to the preservation of the "Ford Cabin," the President of the Ogle County Old Settlers' Reunion, Mr. Amos F. Moore, of Polo, appointed as a committee for that purpose, Messrs. Horace G. Kauffman, of Oregon, and A. W. Brayton and J. E. Miller, of Mount Morris. This committee, aided by Mr. Moore, took up the matter of the removal of the cabin to the campus of Mount Morris College. It was, however, found to be too much decayed to be removed without tearing it down and rebuilding it, and a hesitation in regard to its dignity of appearance amid modern surroundings led to the dropping of the plan. It still stands in the same place on the Glasgow farm. Before it is too far gone, some little part of it will be preserved among the pioneer relics of Ogle County.

MASHEENA.

By Milo Custer.

(Read before the McLean County Historical Society March 4, 1911.)

The Kickapoo chief, Masheena, was one of the best known to the first white settlers, of all the Indians of Central Illinois. He was born probably about the year 1760, but whether in Wisconsin, Illinois, or Indiana, we cannot say.

As the father-in-law of Kanakuk (or Kee-an-na-kuk) the Kickapoo Prophet, his position in the history of his people becomes second only in importance to that celebrated chief.

The earliest account of Masheena which I find anywhere, is given in the first history of McLean County, Ill. Duis "Good Old Times," in the biographical sketch of Absalom Stubblefield, wherein Mr. Stubblefield says, "The Kickapoos were then [December, 1824] plentier than game. Old Machina, the chief, was very friendly. During the War of 1812, he fought against the United States, as he was promised a great many ponies by the British if he would whip the whites [i. e. the Americans]. In the War of 1812, he led on his warriors to the fight, but saw them fearfully cut to pieces at Tippecanoe,[1] and [as] he received no compensation for his trouble or his losses, he declared that he would never again fight against the whites." That this declaration was adhered to is evident from his subsequent conduct. There are a number of other references to Masheena in the "Good Old Times" of which I will take notice farther on. Tradition fixes the site of his bark-house residence in Blooming Grove, McLean County, at the time of the first white settlement there (in 1822) at a point about half-way between the present locatoins of the Blooming Grove Christian Church and the residence of Mr. George Deems, and close by a small branch of the Little Kickapoo Creek. How long Masheena and his family lived at this place, we of course do not know.

It appears from all the accounts we have of him that he was on very friendly terms with most of his white neighbors, and that he often went among them and visited them in their homes.

It is a remarkable circumstance that we have among us today, one man, Mr. William J. Rhodes,[2] who has a personal recollection of Masheena.

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[1] Nov. 7, 1811.

[2] Vice-President of the McLean County Historical Society; Son of John H. S. Rhodes.

Mr. Rhodes was a child about five years old when he last saw Masheena. This was about the year 1829. Mr. Rhodes says the old chief would often come to his father's house[3] and go to an old shed near-by which had no floor and which the Rhodes children used as a play-house, and taking a little kettle, with which the children used to play, would set it up on stakes and build a fire under it, "Indian fashion." "Then," says Mr. Rhodes, "We imagined we were all Indians."

With further reference to Masheena's great fondness for children we have the following: Of John Benson, Jr., a pioneer of White Oak Township, McLean County, Duis says, "He sings to his grand-children the song he learned of the Indian chief of the Kickapoos, Machina.[4] It was not much of a song, and was hummed in a monotonous way by Machina to the little white papooses who sat on his knee. It ran 'He-o, He-o, mee-yok-o-nee, mee-yok-o-nee,' continually repeated."

Again in Duis' account of the life of Thomas Orendorff we find the following: "When Thomas and William Orendorff settled in McLean County, the old chief of the Kickapoos [La Ferine?] came with Machina (afterwards their chief) and ordered them to leave. But the old chief spoke English in such a poor manner that Thomas Orendorff told him to keep still and let Machina talk. Then Machina drew himself up and said, 'Too much come, back, white man, t'other side Sangamon.' Mr. Orendorff told Machina that the latter had sold the land to the whites; but the latter denied it, and the discussion waxed warm, and the chiefs went away, feeling very much insulted."

This was in the year 1823. It is a matter of fact that Masheena was not a party to either of the two Kickapoo treaties of cession for their lands in Illinois made in the year 1819, and that his name does not appear on any Kickapoo treaty of earlier date than the year 1832. Some of Masheena's descendants who reside on the Brown County, (Kansas), Kickapoo reservation, hold a claim against the government, to this day, based upon this fact, and notwithstanding that Masheena was a party to a later treaty.

It also appears from the account of John Dawson, (another pioneer of McLean County), as given by Duis, that Masheena also ordered the Dawson family to leave Blooming Grove. This account is as follows: "The Kickapoo Indians were very jealous of the incoming white men, and their chief, Machina, ordered Mr. Dawson's family to quit the country before the leaves fell. This he did by throwing leaves in the air. By this and other signs he gave them to understand that if they were not gone when the leaves in the forest should fall, he would kill all the 'bootanas' [?],(white men).

"Mrs. Dawson replied to him that the time he had given would be sufficient to call together enough 'bootanas' to exterminate all the Indians. The old chief was very wrathy at this, and made some terrible threats, which he had the good sense never to [attempt to] carry out." This was about the year 1822. In the biography of Jeremiah Rhodes, (also given in Duis "Good Old Times,,), we get the following: "In the fall of 1823 [1822], the Rhodes family came to Illinois, to Sangamon

[3] In Sec. 15, Bloomington Township, McLean County.
[4] Duis' spelling; pronounced Ma-shee'-na.

County. They had no very exciting adventures on their journey, but when they arrived at their destination at Blooming Grove, matters became interesting enough. The Indians came for them and ordered them away from the country. Mr. Rhodes sen. [Rev. Ebenezer Rhodes] was out in the woods making rails, when a party of Indians came to his house and sent one of their number to bring him in. Old Machina, the chief, then told Mr. Rhodes not to make corn there, but to go back to the other side of the Sangamon River. The chief declared he had never signed any treaty ceding the land to the whites, and that white men should never settle there. * * * Old Machina threatened to burn the houses of the settlers, but at last consented to allow Mr. Rhodes' family to remain until fall to gather their crops." It seems that the question of the signing of the treaty was also the subject of an acrimonious debate between Masheena and John H. S. Rhodes. Part of their conversation (according to Duis), was as follows: "The old chief Machina was a very cunning Indian, and had some strange peculiarities. He always denied selling the country to the whites. John [H. S.] Rhodes told him that he did sell the country to the whites, and that "Boss-Stony" [?], (the President), had it on paper. Machina replied "D—m quick putting black upon white."

About the year 1828, the Kickapoos held at Blooming Grove what was probably their last ceremonial dance ever celebrated in that part of McLean County. Mr. William J. Rhodes was present as a child of four or five years, and from his own faint recollections of the occurrence, assisted by the information given him in later years by his parents, he was able to point out to me the spot where this dance was held. It is located upon a kind of bench or high point of land facing the east, towards a small branch of the Little Kickapoo, on the Maik Livingston farm, near where the "Big Four" railroad now passes. Our pioneer, John Dawson[5] has left us a detailed account of this ceremonial dance. Jeremiah Rhodes, in the "Good Old Times" has also left us a detailed account of this dance which is as follows: "Mr. Rhodes' recollection of the Indians is pretty clear. * * * At the great dance, about six or eight Indians [Kickapoos and Pottowatomies] formed in twos and jumped around flat-footed, with tinkling bells attached to their ankles. Old Machina had a gourd with stones in it and these he shook up and down to keep time. Another musical instrument was formed from a ten-gallon keg with a deer-skin drawn tightly over one end. This was carried on the back of a half-grown papoose, and was beaten with a stick. The dancers had their bodies painted black, but over their breasts was painted in white a pair of hands and arms crossed. Outside of the circle of dancers an Indian held up a stick cut in the shape of a gun. The stick was pointed upwards, and was supposed to be an emblem of peace. Another Indian held up a tomahawk, with his hand close to the blade, but what this meant is not easy to be seen. The Indians received a little assistance in their performance by old John Dawson,[6] who danced and sang with them. They were willing to allow his dancing, but

[5] Son of John Wells Dawson, who settled at Blooming Grove in 1822, along with John Hendrix and others.
[6] John Wells Dawson.

stopped his singing as it spoiled the exquisite music of the gourd full of rocks and the keg.

The Indians kept time by repeating monotonously the words: "Hu way, hu way," etc., and the squaws who were gathered in a circle around the dancers, looked on admiringly.

In December, 1898, John Dawson gave an interview to a reporter of the Bloomington Bulletin, concerning the early history of Blooming Grove. This interview was published in the Daily Bulletin of January 2, 1899. In it Mr. Dawson had the following to say with regard to what was probably the same dance:

"The most vivid thing in my life's memory today, and I am past eighty years old, was an occurrence among the Indians before I was five years of age. My father [John Wells Dawson] was invited to participate in an Indian war [?] dance. For that form of amusement they fixed up a ring, just like a circus ring, and would dance round and round, brandishing their tomahawks and singing their songs—typical of only an Indian. No other race ever called such howls singing. Well, they dressed father in all the paraphernalia of a chief and took him out in the circle of dancers. Chief Masheena conducted my father out. His wife [Macheepia] sat between my mother and Mrs. Orendorff, and I was near them, the most interested spectator of the lot. I verily believe Buffalo Bill's wild west Indian dances of his famous show cannot begin to compare in interest to the children of today as did that genuine one to me. All this, remember, was 200 [?] yards from our own door. Father was so great a success in the dance that he waxed enthusiastic and thought he could also sing, so he joined in the chorus, as it were. Chief Masheena stopped him, and said, 'No sing, friend Dawson, just dance.' At this my mother laughed heartily, and Mrs. Masheena solemnly said, 'No laugh, offend friend Dawson.' * * *

From the meager accounts we can get, Masheena must have left McLean County about the year 1829 or 1830. He was with Kanakuk and the 'Vermilion Band' somewhere 'near the southern end of Lake Michigan,' in 1831, when Catlin painted his portrait, (and also that of Kanakuk, and four other Kickapoos). His signature appears upon the treaty of Castor Hill, St. Louis County, Mo., October 24, 1832.

In his history of the Baptist Indian missions, Rev. Isaac McCoy, the pioneer missionary, who had established a mission to the Pottowatomies at Carey, on St. Joseph's River, in southern Michigan, states that Kanakuk and his band passed his (the missionaries) house in the spring of 1833, 'on their way to the Indian Territory,' and it is highly probable that Masheena was among them.

Among the few traditions relating to Masheena and Kanakuk, which were related to me by Mahkuk, or 'Old Jesse,' an old Kickapoo now deceased, but who was yet living at the time I first visited the Kansas Kickapoos in October, 1906, was the following: "While they were coming over from Illinois, Masheena wanted to give his daughter, 'The Long-Named One,' to Kanakuk, to be his wife.[7] Kanakuk knew this before it was told him, because he was a prophet.

[7] Kanakuk was a widower at that time; his first wife, Saukeetoqua, mother of Chief John Kennekuk, died in Illinois.

So after they came over to this time [i. e. the west side] of the Missouri, Kanakuk married her." She was the mother of Kachassa, wife of Katnamee, and an ancestress of all the living descendants of Kanakuk.

That Masheena became affiliated with the so-called 'Church' of Kanakuk, in Illinois, prior to the year 1831, is attested by the fact that Catlin's portrait of him shows him holding one of Kanakuk's prayer-sticks.

The Kickapoos under Kanakuk lived near Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, from about 1834 to 1854. Kanakuk died in 1852 and Masheena was shortly afterwards elected to the position of head-chief of the Kansas Kickapoos, which office he continued to fill until the time of his death.

Though he is referred to as a chief in almost every early account we have of him, it is likely that Masheena was only a subordinate chief, or chief of a band while he lived in Illinois.

In my correspondence on the subject of the Kickapoos, I have a number of letters and a large amount of original information received from my friend Mr. George J. Remsburg, of Potter, Kansas. Among these letters is a partial copy of a letter written to Mr. Remsburg by Mrs. Mary A. Jones, of Alamo, California. Mrs. Jones lived at Fort Leavenworth during the '30s and was well acquainted with both Masheena and Kanakuk.

Mrs. Jones says: "I heard Masheena, the old chief, preach with the aid of an interpreter, many times." She also says: "The old chief, Masheena was at Fort Leavenworth one day and had trouble with a Delaware Indian, and they had a fight in which Masheena killed the Delaware. His (Masheena's) tribe tried him for it and they sentenced him to have 120 lashes by the Regulators [i. e. the 'Whippers' of Kanakuk's church], and a goodly number of his tribe offered to take part of the punishment, so he had only [about] 20 stripes. These Regulators could be seen at any time with their long seasoned switches, ready to punish all [the Indians] they found doing wrong, men, women and children."

In the year 1854, the Kickapoos moved from their location near Fort Leavenworth to a point near their present "diminished reserve" some thirty-five miles northwest of their former location.

Masheena located on the west side of Grasshopper Creek[8] within the present limits of Atchison County, Kansas. Here he built a "cabin" (probably of poles and bark) upon a "bench" of bottom land facing the east, near the creek. He resided at this place until his death, and it was while he lived here that Mr. Henry W. Honnell of Horton, Kansas, met and became acquainted with him. Mr. Honnell (a native of Ohio) was one of the first pioneers of Brown County, Kansas, having settled there in 1856. His brother, Rev. William H. Honnell, was pastor of the Presbyterian Mission on Horton Heights, during the years 1856 and 1857, and Mr. Honnell says that Masheena often attended the prayer-meetings that were held there; that he frequently took an active part in these meetings, offering lengthy prayers in his own language. On

[8] Quequeta in Kickapoo.

one occasion, after the meeting was over, some one asked Masheena why the French always seemed to get along better with the Indians than did people of other white nationalities.

Masheena got down upon the floor upon his hands and knees and with a piece of chalk[9] of some kind, began to draw a kind of map or outline, upon the floor, to represent the different nations. He then began to explain his improvised course of instruction, pointing out different parts of the diagram, saying: "This one, he Americans, he fight Indians, take Indians land. This one, he British, he fight Indians. This one, he Spaniard, he fight Indians, take all they got!" etc., etc. Then coming to the last he said: "This one he French. No fight Indians, no take Indians land."

Mr. Honnell says Masheena wore the clothing of civilization at the time he knew him, but that he allowed his hair to grow rather long. Mr. Honnell says he was a tall, strongly built Indian, and that even in his old age, his height and bearing would easily distinguish him from others in any gathering of his people.

Masheena died in December, 1857, and was buried near where he had lived during his last years. The plow of the white man has turned the soil over his grave for nearly thirty years, until its exact location is now unknown. Mr. Honnell was only able to locate it within two or three rods. It is located on the Sautter farm about a mile and three-quarters south of the town of Horton and about the same distance southwest of the village of Kennekuk, in the northwest corner of Atchison County, Kansas.

Some mention of his descendants may be of interest. Masheena was survived by his son, Mataskuk; his daughter Nubya Eshnoqua, and other members of his family. His descendants today number but twelve living persons. They are all said to be full-blood Kickapoos, and all reside upon the Kickapoo Reservation, eight miles west of Horton, in Brown County, Kansas. Masheena's son, Mataskuk, died unmarried, in 1858, aged about 25 years. Nubya Eshnoqua, daughter of Masheena and Macheepia, said to have been the last surviving Kickapoo born in Illinois, died in 1907. She had been married to a Kickapoo named Kakahkah, and had several children, but left no living descendants. Kachassa, daughter of Kanakuk, the Kickapoo "Prophet" and Ahsahmeenotenwawkwa, or "The Long Named One," married Katnamee, a Kickapoo. They had three sons, Wawawsuk (now deceased); Wapoahtek (or John Winsee), and Optukkee (or Commodore). Wawawsuk was married and died leaving two children, Etwenahpee (Robert Wawawsuk) who also died about three years ago, leaving two little sons, Wacheekwehwa (Leo Wawawsuk) now aged about ten years, and —— (Joseph Wawawsuk) now aged about eight. Wawawsuk's other child, a daughter, Shawakea (or Minnie Wawawsuk) a young woman aged about 24 years is now employed as assistant matron at the Kickapoo School, on the Kickapoo Reservation in Kansas. Wapoatek, or John Winsee, is married to Nunnahben, and has three children, viz. Wawseequa (Ella Winsee), Papesheena, and one other small child whose name

[9] or "keel."

I do not have. Optukkee, or Commodore, is married to an Indian woman called Julia. They have one child, a son named Tapwatuk, now aged about nine or ten years. Taweena (?) another daughter of Masheena, was married, had a daughter named Ayachee, who married Neeboqua (or William Honnell). Their daughter, Kawkeasauqua, is married to Grant Weeweenas, and has two children, a daughter named Namkumgoqua (Bertha Weeweenas), now aged about 22 years, and one son, Neepahkum (Philip Weeweenas) aged about 14.

All the descendants of Masheena except those of Taweena[10] are also descended from Kanakuk, and are the Prophet's only living descendants.

The McLean County Historical Society has full-size reproductions in oil of Catlin's portrait of Masheena, Kanakuk, Ahtonwetuk, and the two Kickapoo squaws, Ahteewatomee and Sheenawee, also photographs of Nubya Eshnoqua, Kachassa, Wapoatek and his family, Optukkee and family, the family of Kawkeasauqua, and Shawakea, all provided by the generosity of our president, Mr. George P. Davis.

In attempting to analyze the character of an Indian, especially a full-blood, we should never fall into the error of judging him by the white man's standard. He is first and last an Indian, with ideas and thoughts quite alien to those of the white race, and from what we know of Masheena, I cannot believe he was any exception to this rule, and had it not been for his full realization of the superior force of the United States, his loyalty to his own people would doubtless have led him to resist further the settlement of Central Illinois with the tomahawk and the scalping-knife.

MILO CUSTER.

Bloomington, Illinois, March 4, 1911.

[10] My informant was not sure this was her correct name.

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